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THE PERIOD OF THE REFORMATION

VOL. II.



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THE
PERIOD OF THE REFORMATION

1517 TO 1648

By LUDWIG HÄUSSER

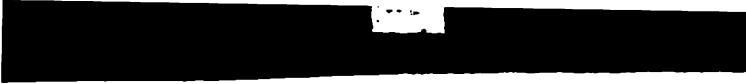
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CONTENTS OF VOL. II.

PART VI.

THE RELIGIOUS WARS IN FRANCE, UNTIL THE RESTORATION OF THE KINGDOM BY HENRY IV.

CHAPTER XXV.

	PAGE
The last War with Spain and England, 1557-9.—Defeat at St. Quentin, 1557, and Gravelingen, 1558.—Taking of Calais, Peace of Cateau Cambrasis, 3rd April, 1559.—Catharine de Medici and the Government of the Guises.—French Protestantism in Conflict with the State.—The Clergy, Humanism, the Sorbonne and Parliament.—First Agitation of the New Doctrines.—Persecution of the Heretics after 1552.—The Aristocracy and the Princes of the Blood attacked by Calvinism.—The Conspiracy of Amboise, March, 1560.—Crisis and Change after the Death of King Francis II., 5th December, 1560.—Successes of Protestantism, 1559.—La Rénaudie's Project.—Condé's Trial.—Catharine de Medici as Regent	I

CHAPTER XXVI.

CHARLES IX., 1560-74, AND THE HUGUENOTS, UNTIL 1570.

The First Compromise with the Reform Party.—The States of the Empire at Orleans, 1560-61.—The Discussion on Religion at Poissy, Autumn of 1561.—The Edict of 17th January, 1562.—The Three First Religious Wars, 1562-70.—The Massacre at Vassy, March, 1562.—Character of the Civil War.—The First Religious War.—Battle of St. Dreux, December, 1562.—Edict of Amboise, March, 1563.—The Second Religious War, 1567-8.—The Edict of Longjumeaux, March, 1568.—The Third Religious War, 1569-70.—Victories of the Catholics at Jarnac and Moncontour.—Religious Peace of St. Germain-en-Laye, August, 1570.—Character of Charles IX.	17
---	----

THE PERIOD OF THE REFORMATION

VOL. II.



PART IX.

SECOND PHASE OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.—
GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

SWEDEN AND GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS.

	PAGE
Sweden before Gustavus Adolphus.—Eric XIV., 1560-68.— John III., 1568-92, and Charles of Südermanland.—Charles as Regent, 1592-1604.—Charles IX. as King, 1604-11.— Gustavus Adolphus in Sweden, 1611-30.—Position of Affairs at the beginning of his Reign.—Political, Military, and Do- mestic Reforms.—Wars with Denmark, Russia, and Poland. —The Contest for the Baltic	131

CHAPTER XXXV.

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS IN GERMANY, 1630-32.

Origin and Significance of the Swedish War.—Motives, Political and Religious, of Gustavus Adolphus.—Characteristics of him and his Army.—Their Landing and First Successes, June—December, 1630.—Gustavus Adolphus in Pomerania. —Siege of Stettin; Treaty with Duke Bogeslav.—Tedious Advance into Pomerania.—Imperial troops driven out of Pomerania, December, 1630.—Treaty of Bärwald, January, 1631.—Convention of Leipzig, and Fall of Magdeburg, May, 1631.—Electoral Brandenburg and Electoral Hesse join Gus- tavus Adolphus, June—August.—Battle of Breitenfeld, Sep- tember 7, 1631.—Victorious March of Gustavus Adolphus towards South and West Germany, October—December, 1631. —Plans for Restoration.—Overthrow of the Power of the League.—Return of Wallenstein, April, 1632.—Battle of Lützen, 16th November, 1632.—Death of Gustavus Adol- phus and its Significance	149
---	-----

PART X.

THIRD PHASE OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.— RICHELIEU, OXENSTIERNA, AND BERNHARD VON WEIMAR.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

FRANCE AFTER THE DEATH OF HENRY IV.

	PAGE
Louis XIII., 1610-43, and Mary of Medici.—The Parliament of 1614.—Murder of the Marshal d'Ancre, April, 1617.—The Duke of Luynes.—Cardinal Richelieu, 1624-42, and Louis XIII.—Characteristics of both.—Richelieu's political method.—His testament.—His rule at home and abroad.—Fall of La Rochelle, 1628.—The affair in the Valteline and the War about Mantua, 1630	181

CHAPTER XXXVII.

GERMANY FROM THE DEATH OF GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS TO WALLEN- STEIN'S CATASTROPHE. NOVEMBER, 1632—FEBRUARY, 1634.

Dissensions in the Swedish Camp : Oxenstierna and Bernhard of Weimar.—Beginning of the French Negotiations : Marquis de Feuquieres.—The Treaty of Heilbronn, April 23rd, 1633.—Wallenstein's ambiguous conduct of the war in 1633.—Negotiations with Saxony. The letter of December 26th, 1633.—The Bond of Pilsen, January 12th, 1634.—The murder at Eger, February 25th, 1634	204
---	-----

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

THE WAR FROM THE BATTLE OF NÖRDLINGEN, 1634, TO BERNHARD'S DEATH, 1639.

Defeat of the Swedish army at Nördlingen.—Oxenstierna's fruitless negotiations.—The peace of Prague, 1635.—Its significance and results.—Baner's victories and vicissitudes, 1636-7.—Victories and death of Bernhard of Weimar, 1638-9	221
--	-----

PART XI.

END OF THE WAR.—THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA. 1640-48.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

BANER'S END, MAY, 1641, AND TORSTENSON'S VICTORIES, 1642-5.

	PAGE
Battle of Leipzig, 2d November, 1643.—Campaign against Denmark, 1643-44.—Victory near Jankowitz, February, 1645.—Simultaneous warfare of the French.—The Peace Negotiations and end of the War.—The Diet of Ratisbon from September, 1640.—Brandenburg's Proposition of Unconditional Amnesty, and Restoration to the Condition of 1618.—The Hamburg Preliminaries, December, 1641.—The Meeting of Deputies at Frankfort, 1642-45.—Beginning of the Peace Congress and end of the War, 1644-48	251

CHAPTER XL.

THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA	262
-----------------------------------	-----

PART XII.

COMPLETION OF THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND.

CHAPTER XLI.

THE REFORMATION OF THE PROTESTANT CHURCH UNDER
EDWARD VI., 1547-53.

The inheritance of Henry VIII.—Character of the young King.—The first Protector, Edward, Duke of Somerset, 1549.—The second Protector, Earl of Warwick, Duke of Northumberland, 1553.—Character of the Church Reform, Bible, Catechism, Book of Common Prayer, Abolition of the Mass, Celibacy, &c.—The Catholic reaction under Mary, 1553-8.—Abolition of the Ecclesiastical Laws of Edward VI., and first acts of revenge.—Marriage with Philip II. of Spain, 1554.—The Question of Church Property.—Parliament and the Laws concerning Heresy.—The Ordeal by fire of English Protestantism.—The untenable position of the Government after the loss of Calais and the Breach of the Constitution	280
---	-----

CONTENTS.

xi

CHAPTER XLII.

QUEEN ELIZABETH, 1558-1603.

	PAGE
Cautious beginnings.—The Parliament of 1559 and the Re-establishment of the Anglican Church.—Beginning of the conflict with Mary Stuart.—The Reformation in Scotland, John Knox.—Mary Stuart in Scotland, 1561-8.—Darnley.—Rizzio.—Bothwell.—Mary Stuart in England.—Attitude of Rome and Spain against Elizabeth.—The Conspiracies.—Norfolk, 1569-1572.—Elizabeth's forced enmity towards Rome and Spain, 1572-85.—Conspiracy of Savage and Babington.—Mary Stuart's Trial and Execution, 1586-7.—The Spanish Armada and Elizabeth's last days, 1603	298

PART XIII.

THE REVOLUTION AND REPUBLIC IN ENGLAND.

CHAPTER XLIII.

JAMES I., 1603-25.

Character of the Monarch and unfavourable beginning of his Reign.—The Gunpowder Plot, November, 1605.—The Contests of 1621.—Trial of Lord Bacon of Verulam.—The Question of taking part in the Bohemian-Palatinate War.—The Difficulties of Parliament.—Address of November, 1621, and Dissolution of Parliament.—The Spanish Marriage Scheme. Buckingham and the Prince of Wales.—Change in the Policy of England.—The Parliament of 1624.—Death of James, April, 1625	335
---	-----

CHAPTER XLIV.

Charles I., 1625-49.—His Character.—The first two Parliaments, 1625-26.—The War with Spain and France.—The third and last Parliament.—The Petition of Right, 1628-9.—Charles I. without a Parliament.—The Earl of Strafford.—Archbishop Laud.—The Star Chamber.—The High Commission.—Ship Money, 1634.—John Hampden's Trial, 1637	352
---	-----

CHAPTER XLV.

THE TURN OF EVENTS.

The Complications in Scotland, 1637-39.—The Tumult at Edinburgh.—The Covenant, 1638.—The General Assembly at Glasgow, November, 1638.—The Fourth Parliament, 1640.—The Long Parliament.—First Measures against the Policy and Representatives of Strafford's System.—Indictment, Trial, and Execution of Strafford, May, 1641	371
---	-----

CHAPTER XLVI.

OPEN BREACH BETWEEN THE KING AND PARLIAMENT.

- The King in Scotland, August, 1641.—Massacre of the Protestants in Ireland.—Return of Parliament in October, and the Separation of Parties into Cavaliers and Roundheads.—The Great Remonstrance, November, and the unsuccessful *Coup d'Etat*, January 3rd and 4th, 1642.—Commutations in London.—The First Parliamentary Army.—Departure of the King.—Return of Parliament, January 11th, 1642 383

CHAPTER XLVII.

THE CIVIL WAR.

- Prospects of both Parties.—Victories of the Royalists, October, 1642, to September, 1643.—Interposition of the Scots.—Presbyterians and Independents.—Defeat of the Royalists at Marston Moor, July, and at Newbury, October, 1644.—Oliver Cromwell.—The Self-denying Ordinance 395

CHAPTER XLVIII.

THE CATASTROPHE OF CHARLES AND OF THE PARLIAMENT.

- Defeat of Charles at Naseby, June, 1645.—He takes refuge with the Scots, who sell him to the Presbyterians.—Mutiny of the Army against Parliament.—Abduction of the King.—March to London.—First Purge of Parliament, August, 1647.—The King's Flight to the Isle of Wight.—His Trial and Execution, 30th January, 1649 411

CHAPTER XLIX.

THE COMMONWEALTH, WITHOUT KING OR HOUSE OF LORDS.

- Cromwell's Position after the Death of Charles I.—Parties, Republic and Monarchy.—Subjugation of Ireland and Scotland, 1649–51.—War with Holland.—The Navigation Act, October, 1651, and the Peace of April, 1654.—The Constitutional Experiments.—Dismissal of the Long Parliament.—The Constitution of December, 1653.—The Parliament of 1654–5, and the Military Government.—The Parliament of 1656–7.—Proposal of a Monarchy.—The Upper House of January, 1658.—Cromwell's Death, 3rd September, 1658.—Richard Cromwell and the end of the Republic 423

PART VI.

THE RELIGIOUS WARS IN FRANCE, UNTIL THE RESTORATION OF THE KINGDOM BY HENRY IV.*

CHAPTER XXV.

The last War with Spain and England, 1557-9.—Defeat at St. Quentin, 1557, and Gravelingen, 1558.—Taking of Calais, Peace of Cateau Cambrasis, 3rd April, 1559.—Catharine de Medici and the Government of the Guises.—French Protestantism in Conflict with the State.—The Clergy, Humanism, the Sorbonne and Parliament.—First Agitation of the New Doctrines.—Persecution of the Heretics after 1552.—The Aristocracy and the Princes of the Blood attacked by Calvinism.—The Conspiracy of Amboise, March, 1560.—Crisis and Change after the Death of King Francis II., 5th December, 1560.—Successes of Protestantism, 1559.—La Rénaudie's Project.—Condé's Trial.—Catharine de Medici as Regent.

SITUATION OF FRANCE UNDER HENRY II., 1547-59, AND FRANCIS II., 1559-60.

FRANCE now first experienced the throes occasioned by the Reformation and Revolution which all other States, far or near, had already passed through. A period

* S. Thuani, *Hist. sui Temporis*. London, 1733. Davila, *Storia delle Guerre Civili di Francia*. 1644. Die *Memoiren von Vieilleville*, Castelnau, Brantome, Tavannes, Nevers, Villeroy, Mornay, La Tour d'Auvergne Sully. Michelet, *Hist. de France au 16ième Siècle*. 1855. Schmidt, *Gesch. von Frankreich*. Hamburg, 1839. Ranke, *Französische Geschichte*, 1852. G. Weber, *Geschichtliche Darstellung des Calvinismus*. 1836. Soldan, *Geschichte des Protestantismus in Frankreich*. 1855. Von Polenz, *Geschichte des Franz. Calvinismus*. 1859.

of forty years of great internal disorder followed, which in many of its features resembled the Thirty Years' War in Germany, and chiefly differs from it in its final result.

Francis I. was succeeded by his son, Henry II., 1547-59, whose twelve years' reign was filled by the heritage of his father's foreign policy. First, there were the last wars against Charles V., in which, for the first time, thanks to the disorders in Germany, France was successful. In 1552 France succeeded in obtaining possession of the three bishoprics, and Charles did not regain them in the following campaign; then the less successful wars with Spain and England, 1557-9. But even in these, France did not go empty away. The battles of St. Quentin and Gravelingen were lost, but Calais, the last English possession on French soil, was conquered, and the Peace of Cateau Cambrasis, April, 1559, did not demand any essential sacrifices from France.

In the internal policy the tendency to strengthen the royal supremacy continued. There was the same repression of all representative and corporate elements; the same system of partly absorbing, partly lulling to sleep, all other seats of power; the same endeavour, which fortune favoured, to invest the King with supreme authority as under Francis I. Henry did not equal his father in talent, but, although much under female influence, he was an active and competent ruler. As fate would have it, he received a wound at a tournament which cost him his life, and then followed the crisis from which it took France forty years in some measure to recover.

Henry left four sons—a sufficient number, as it appeared, to secure the succession to the house of Valois for a long time to come—though they were all children. Nobody then knew how frail and weakly they all were, that disease

would prey upon them, nor foresaw that what was not effected by natural means would be early completed by mental and moral degradation. There was a singular fatality in the family history of this last king of the house of Valois. He had been married from political motives to the niece of Clement VII., Catharine de Medici. This ambitious woman came to France conscious that the marriage was a political one, mentally a stranger to her husband ; and such she always remained. This placed her from the first in a false position. The King was influenced by any one rather than by his wife ; and a by no means charming mistress, Diana of Poitiers, played her part by the side of and above the Queen.

An ambitious, talented Italian, fond of power, who brought to the throne all the pride of the Medicis, and had something of the universal political ambition of her relatives Leo X. and Clement VII., and who, as a true daughter of this house, was not only richly endowed with Italian cunning, but considered any means allowable if they conduced to the end, deeply imbued with the unscrupulousness of this Italian school, she saw herself kept for years in the background, and deprived of all legitimate influence in public affairs. She could never hope to make conquests by her feminine charms ; her forte was craft and cunning. Such a character was sure to be dangerous, especially in a country where she was looked upon as a stranger. She played an ignominious part at her husband's side, and did not even obtain the position in her own house which, as the mother of the princes, was her due.

This explains her restless, feverish ambition. Having been for many years restrained and irritated by contumely, she now broke out with all the more vehemence ; it also explains her feeling of strangeness, and the utter absence of a consciousness of responsibility for her actions. She had

things on her conscience which it would have been madness in a native princess to commit. The Massacre of St. Bartholomew was the crime of a woman who forgot that she was thereby condemning the whole house of Valois. Her successful attempt to suffer her children to be ruined in debauchery, trifling, and childishness, in order to make them subservient to her, and her neglect to educate them to rule, were the acts of a princess who was a stranger upon the throne and in the country.

She was the curse of the house of Valois. She gave the reins to her demoniacal ambition at the most critical period for the family, and satiated her Italian revenge upon the noblest of the nation. Forgetting her duty as mother of the kings of France, she suffered the last scions of the house to wither away, and she and her race came to a miserable end.

Immediately after the death of her husband, in 1559, she greedily grasped at power. The young King, Francis II., was of age when he entered his fourteenth year. There could therefore be no legal regency, though there might be an actual one, for a weakly monarch of sixteen was still incompetent to govern. But she was thwarted in her first grasp at power.

Under Francis I., a family previously unknown in French history had begun to play a prominent part. A successful, rich, distinguished nobleman had appeared in Lorraine, which was still looked upon by the French as a German territory—Claude de Guise, the son of René of Lorraine, a man who had distinguished himself at Marignano, and later against Charles V. The great men of France looked down with contempt upon the upstart house, which had no large estates, and was not thought much of even in Lorraine. The Bourbons and Montmorencys especially looked upon

the Guises as a race of insolent upstarts, who had come from a foreign country to seek at court a position which they did not find elsewhere, and to thrust aside the bearers of ancient and meritorious names.

Whatever, however, might be thought of the Guises, it was certain that they were not wanting in ability. Their nobility was very ancient, and when they aspired to the French crown there was no more ancient legitimate race than theirs. After Francis I. had carried on four unsuccessful wars, Francis of Guise, son of the above-mentioned Claude, had succeeded in occupying Lorraine, won the three bishoprics, and afterwards defended Metz against Charles V. with distinguished ability ; and the only successful feat in the last campaign against Spain and England, the taking of Calais, was performed by him. He could proudly say to the great lords, " Tell me what you, with your ancient nobility, have done for France. I have done more for her than all of you put together." One of his brothers, Charles of Guise, was distinguished for his spirit and boundless ambition. He had entered the ecclesiastical order, and Rome had early recognised in him a convenient tool. The young Archbishop of Rheims became Cardinal of Lorraine, played a leading part at Trent, and was the spokesman and most able member of the papal party.

The brothers succeeded in bringing about a political marriage which promised to throw the King, who was mentally a child, entirely into their hands.

Their sister Mary had been married to James V. of Scotland, whose crown was then rather an insignificant one, but was now beginning to gain importance. The issue of this marriage was a charming girl, who was destined for the King's wife. She was betrothed to him without his consent when still a child. The young Queen was Mary Stuart.

Her misfortunes, her beauty, and her connection with European history have made her a historical personage, more conspicuous indeed for what she suffered than for what she did; her real importance is not commensurate with the position she occupies.

This, then, was the position of the brothers Guise at court. The King was the husband of their niece; both were children in age and mind, and therefore doubly required guidance. The brothers, Francis and Charles, had the government entirely in their hands; the Duke managed the army, the Cardinal the finances and foreign affairs. Two such leaders were the mayors of the palace. The whole constitution of the court reminds us of the *rois fainéants* and the office of major-domo under the Carolingians.

Thus, just when Catharine was about to take advantage of a favourable moment, she saw herself once more eclipsed and thrust aside, and that by insolent upstarts of whom one thing only was certain, that they possessed unusual talents, and that their consciences were elastic in the choice of means.

It was not only from Catharine that the supremacy of the Guises met with violent opposition, but also from Protestantism, the importance of which was greatly increasing in France.

FRENCH PROTESTANTISM IN CONFLICT WITH THE STATE.

France had not been unaffected by the violent storm which Luther's appearance had called forth, but the way in which the new teaching had to fight its way here was very different from the reception it had met with in Germany. The fact that the Franciscan monk, Michael Menot, who, in the same year and for the same reason as Luther, opposed

the sale of indulgences, died almost unnoticed, proves that we are in a different world.

The ancient Church of France was not in less need of reform than the Church elsewhere. Impartial witnesses agree in stating that the clergy were fearfully demoralised.

At the time when, in accordance with the Pragmatic Sanction, the ecclesiastics elected the prelates, there were bitter complaints of the unscrupulousness of their choice, and the incredible dissoluteness of the bishops elected ; and when, after the Concordat of 1516, the King made the appointments to the hundred and six bishoprics, fourteen archbishoprics, and the abbacies and priories, outside observers were struck with the shameless traffic which the Crown made with these places, just as if they had been bargains about "pepper and cinnamon," with the gifts of benefices to diplomatists, learned men, deserving and undeserving, courtiers and soldiers, with all the inevitable demoralising consequences of such a distribution of the office of spiritual shepherd.

It was, as is well known, the Humanists who first pointed out the decline of the clergy. The Humanists were no strangers to France. It became almost a second home to them ; and it is a singular fact that the same King, Francis I., who in his own country pitilessly burnt heretics in slow fires, gave his hand to the German heretics to oppose Charles V., and might be justly styled by his learned *protégés* "The father of learning."

From the beginning of his reign Francis I. had attracted learned men, both native and foreign, who inclined to the new tendencies, to his court, and attached them to his service by conferring on them temporal offices and spiritual benefices ; a great "Collège des Trois Langues," with double professorships for Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, was to make

Paris a centre of Humanistic learning as it had once been of mediæval scholasticism ; and if the scheme was not carried out in its original magnificence, the school of heretical languages which was founded, and from which such men as Turnebus, Lambin, Du Chesne, and Petrus Ramus were to go forth, indicated a breach with the past, and kept up a perpetual irritation with the followers of the old system.

This old system was a unity ; scholasticism and the mediæval Church hung together. The Sorbonne felt this, and looked askance at the brilliance of its Humanistic rival, as did also the Parliament, to the orthodox jurists of which the heretics appeared as political criminals.

These two old organs of France were more consistent than the King in jealously guarding the rights of ancient usage. The learned gentlemen of the Sorbonne spoke of Greek and Hebrew like the German monks, who talked of the newly-invented language of a so-called New Testament, and roundly asserted that whoever learnt Hebrew must become a Jew. The most zealous fanatics among them, therefore, such as Natalis Beda, summoned the professors before Parliament, and demanded that they should not be permitted to expound the Vulgate without passing a theological examination, in order that no more might be heard of that heretical mode of speaking, "So says the Hebrew or Greek text ;" and the faculty acted in this spirit when, their opinion being asked about the Lutheran controversy, they decided that Luther's teaching must be utterly exterminated, his writings publicly given to the flames, and the author be compelled by every lawful means solemnly to recant his heresies.

The Sorbonne repeatedly and urgently demanded a strict and relentless conscience police for all France, but Francis I. was at first quite indifferent about it. The appearance of a

few isolated heretical preachers and authors, such as Lefevre, Berguin, Farel, Mazurier, Briçonnet, the establishment of a reformed congregation at Meaux under the leadership of an eloquent wool-comber, Leclerc (afterwards burnt with cruel torments at Metz), were not circumstances which seemed to him to justify exceptional measures.

But it was different after his return from the Spanish imprisonment which the lost battle of Pavia, in 1525, had inflicted on him.

Pope Clement VII. had taken care to explain to the humbled monarch that the heretics were political criminals who abolished all class distinctions, incited the lowest classes to rebellion, and would overturn royal authority itself. Parliament attributed his misfortunes to his lukewarmness against the heretics. Now, therefore, many executions followed, and in 1535 there was a bloody persecution; in 1543 he issued, in two edicts from Fontainebleau, the most stringent measures against the heretics as "disturbers of the public peace, rebels against the King and justice, conspirators against the prosperity of the State, which was specially dependent on the maintenance of the purity of the Catholic faith." This was followed by the proclamation of twenty-five articles of faith, drawn up by the Sorbonne, in order that every one of his Majesty's subjects might know what he was to believe and hold as true, unless he desired to come into contact with the avenging arm of Parliament.

The policy which rendered an occasional flirtation with the German Protestants, and active interference in the German troubles, desirable, did not, of course, alter this attitude. Henry II. proceeded exactly like Francis I., and the Guises kept him firmly to this course.

Henry went farther with the German Protestants than Francis, but the persecutions and executions of the native

heretics increased ; and now under Francis II., when the brothers Francis and Charles of Guise were all-powerful, France was under a system in religious matters which was really identical with that of Philip II. and Alba. But meanwhile French Protestantism, thanks to the folly of its persecutors, gained in the number and importance of its followers. The system of persecution had been submitted to as to inevitable destiny under Francis I. and Henry II., but it could not be so easily forgiven from foreign ministers, and the all-powerful favourites who had usurped the government ; from them it was felt to be a gross injustice, and the more so as the heresy was no longer confined to poor artisans at Meaux or Metz, or isolated learned sects, but was become a power which began to influence the best and most independent grades of society.

Since Calvin had built up the citadel of French Protestantism in the neighbouring Geneva, and year by year received his fugitive brethren in the faith, to send them back as well-instructed apostles, the Propaganda of the new teaching was organized. The strictly systematic character of Calvinism was well adapted to find acceptance with this nation. The democratic and republican tendencies also of this ecclesiastical commonwealth was attractive as a counterpoise to the all-devouring monarchical absolutism.

Thus Protestantism had become a party which did not, like Lutheranism in Germany, spring up from the depths, had its seat and main support among the masses, and then rose higher ; but it numbered its chief adherents among the middle and upper grades of society, spread its roots rather among the nobles than the citizens, and among learned men and families of distinction rather than among the people. A Calvinistic school had been developed of strict, serious, almost gloomy personages, in whom the light

French character seemed to be almost extinguished, whose conduct was irreproachable, whose views of life were full of priestly exclusiveness, and who formed a moral opposition to the licentiousness of the luxurious court life which Francis I. had encouraged. Men like Coligny, D'Aubigné, and Sully, were distinguished characters, cut as it were from one block—men of unimpeachable morals, great earnestness, and unyielding energy.

Then there was another thing: some of the highest aristocracy, who were discontented, and submitted unwillingly to the supremacy of the Guises, had joined the Calvinistic opposition—some undoubtedly from policy, others from conviction. The Turennes, the Rohans, and Soubises, pure nobles, who addressed the King as "mon cousin," especially the Bourbons, the agnates of the royal house, had adopted the new faith.

A son of St. Louis had married Beatrice, the heiress of the earldom of Bourbon, and the Bourbon territory had devolved upon him. This branch had divided into two smaller branches, one of which had died out with the constable, the other was represented by Antoine and Louis. The elder brother had married the heiress of Bearn and Navarre, Jeanne D'Albret, an earnest, powerful, heroic woman, and from this marriage sprang Henry IV. The younger brother was of light French blood, a true French cavalier, with none too much of religious fervour. Jeanne was a zealous Calvinist, her husband from policy agreed with her, and Louis of Condé joined the same party, for it lent him a powerful weapon against the Guises.

After France had long been ruled by kings who really reigned and interfered personally with effect, she now had over her a weakly prince, influenced by powerful families, over the unhappy royal house a mother like Catharine de Medici,

and for the first time for a long period there were powerful religious and political parties closely intermingled in opposition to the Throne. Protestantism united with the discontented elements among the highest nobles; the might and majesty of the kingdom were greatly decreased; vast debts had accumulated under the late governments; without the States, recovery was impossible. These elements in some degree explain the great convulsions which followed.

THE CONSPIRACY OF AMBOISE, MARCH, 1560.—CRISIS
AND CHANGE AFTER THE DEATH OF THE KING.

In the time of Henry II., in spite of all the edicts and executions, Protestantism had made great progress. The Parisian Parliament was no longer the Inquisition of former days; the chambers were divided; the great chamber passed sentences of death, in accordance with the royal edicts, while the Tournelle, as it was called, first warned, and then, amidst heretical discussions, only passed sentence of banishment at the worst. One of the ministers, Anne du Bourg, who afterwards paid for it with his life, zealously took the part of the heretics in the King's presence. He asked for proofs of the accusation that the heretics, in whose mouths the name of the King was never heard except to pray for and bless him, were traitors who wished to dethrone him, while all their guilt consisted in the courage with which they demanded the abolition of the crying abuses in the ancient Church. "Surely," he said in conclusion, "it is no light thing to condemn to death people who call upon Jesus in the midst of the flames."

About the same period, in the spring of 1559, interdicted Protestantism had secretly reviewed its congregations, and at the first national synod drawn up a confession of faith and a constitution for the new Church. Preachers and

elders had appeared from every part of France, and their eighty articles of 28th May, 1559, have become the code of laws of French Protestantism. The Calvinistic principle of the Congregational Church, with choice of its own minister, deacons, and elders; a consistory which maintained strict discipline in matters of faith and morals, and in extreme cases inflicted excommunication—that is, exclusion from the sacraments—was established upon French soil, and was afterwards publicly accepted by the whole party.

The more adherents this party gained in the upper circles, the bolder was its attitude; there was, indeed, no end to the executions, or to the edicts against heresy, but a spirit of opposition, previously unknown, had gradually gained ground. Prisoners were set free, the condemned were rescued from the hands of the executioners on the way to the scaffold, and a plan was devised among the numerous fugitives in foreign lands for producing a turn in the course of events by violent means.

La Rénaudie, a reformed nobleman from Perigord, who had sworn vengeance on the Guises for the execution of his brother, had, with a number of other persons of his own way of thinking, formed a plan for attacking the Guises, carrying off the King, and placing him under the guardianship of the Bourbon agnates. If the King required a regent, the princes of the blood alone had a right to the office; with them there would be a native Government; the nobles and the new religion would obtain redress.

The project was betrayed; the Guises succeeded in placing the King in security in the Castle of Amboise; a number of the conspirators were seized, another troop overpowered and dispersed on their attack upon the castle on the 17th of March, 1560; some were killed, some taken prisoners and at once executed.

It was then discovered, or pretended, that the youngest of the Bourbon princes, Louis of Condé, was implicated in the conspiracy. It is not known to this day how far this was true, but it is certain that had the project succeeded it would have been very agreeable to him, and that he was thoughtless enough to make it not improbable. The Guises now ventured, in contempt of French historical traditions, to imprison this prince of the blood, this agnate of the reigning house; to summon him before an arbitrary tribunal of partisans, and to condemn him to death, November, 1560. If the King had done this, if his guilt had been proved, it would not have been an unusual, nor, according to the notions of justice of that age, an illegal proceeding. But this was quite another thing; his guilt was not proved, and the trial itself, instituted by two foreigners against one of the princes of the blood, was in the highest degree informal.

This affair kept all France in suspense. All the nobles, although strongly infected with Huguenot ideas, were on Condé's side; even those who condemned his religious opinions made his cause their own. They justly thought that if he fell, none of them would be safe.

In the midst of this ferment, destiny interposed.

On the 5th of December, 1560, Francis II. died suddenly, and a complete change took place. His death put an end to a network of intrigues, which aimed at knocking the rebellion, political and religious, on the head. The States had been convoked at Orleans, in order to relieve the pecuniary embarrassments of the Crown. It was intended, also, with the aid of a numerous military force, to extirpate heresy, or at least to render harmless the most influential of its adherents. Every member was to swear allegiance to the articles drawn up by the Sorbonne in 1542, and

whoever refused was to forfeit life and property. All this was in progress; the most suspicious representatives were secured when the King died.

During this confusion one individual had been watching the course of events with the eagerness of a beast ready to seize on its prey. Catharine of Medici was convinced that the time of her dominion had at length arrived. Her life had been ruled by one idea—that of ruling herself; whatever stood in her way was hateful to her, and she was enough of an Italian to shrink from no means to give vent to her hatred. She hated the Guises because they had taken the government out of her hands; the Condés' party was compromised by the proceedings of Amboise and the trial, and between the contending parties she hoped to step in as the guiding power. She was thoroughly adapted to play the part which required an intriguing spirit, Italian cunning and cold blood, in the choice of means. But she was not equal to great political actions.

Francis II. was scarcely dead when she seized upon the person and the power of Charles IX. He was a boy of ten years old, not more promising than his eldest brother, sickly and weakly like all the sons of Henry II., more attached to his mother than the others, and he had been neglected by the Guises.

Immediately on the death of her eldest son, the mother stepped forward as the guardian and regent of her second, though both titles were carefully avoided. The sudden death of Francis had overthrown the dominion of the Guises.

But she would not have been able to possess herself of power without assistance from various quarters; she needed especially the support of the high aristocracy, of the princes of the blood, who hated the Guises, but still demanded

that they should have a share in the government; she therefore came to an understanding with them, particularly with Antoine of Navarre, and she could not do this without making concessions.

One of her first acts was to liberate Condé; this was a decided step towards reconciliation with the Bourbons and the Protestants. The whole situation was all at once changed. The court was ruled by Catharine; her feverish thirst for power was satisfied. The Guises and their adherents were, indeed, permitted to remain in their offices and posts of honour, in order not fatally to offend them; but their supremacy was destroyed, and the new power was based upon the Queen's understanding with the heads of the Huguenot party.

CHAPTER XXVI.

CHARLES IX., 1560-74, AND THE HUGUENOTS,
UNTIL 1570.

The First Compromise with the Reform Party.—The States of the Empire at Orleans, 1560-61.—The Discussion on Religion at Poissy, Autumn, 1561.—The Edict of 17th January, 1562.—The Three First Religious Wars, 1562-70.—The Massacre at Vassy, March, 1562.—Character of the Civil War.—The First Religious War.—Battle of St. Dreux, December, 1562.—Edict of Amboise, March, 1563.—The Second Religious War, 1567-8.—The Edict of Longjumeaux, March, 1568.—The Third Religious War, 1569-70.—Victories of the Catholics at Jarnac and Moncontour.—Religious Peace of St. Germain-en-Laye, August, 1570.—Character of Charles IX.

THE FIRST COMPROMISE WITH THE REFORM PARTY.—
THE STATES OF THE EMPIRE AT ORLEANS, 1560-61.
—THE DISCUSSION ON RELIGION AT POISSY, AUTUMN,
1561.—THE EDICT OF JANUARY, 1562.

WHILE this change was taking place, the States assembled at Orleans were discussing two important questions which had been left unsolved for the young King by his predecessors: the relief of the financial necessities of the Crown, which were so great that the Chancellor l'Hôpital, as he said publicly, could not speak of them without tears; and the deliverance of the Church from ruin and schism.

states that a fourth (the Reformers said half) of the whole population of the empire was estranged from the Church, and that this fourth consisted of nobles, learned men, wealthy citizens, and those among the lower classes who had seen the world and could bear arms. With so many noblemen, and old, well-disciplined troops, there was no lack of strength, judgment, or education—for three-fourths of the men of learning belonged to them ; there was no lack of money among the nobles and merchants ; and there was, besides, so much unity and determination, that there could be no hope of converting them by force, without inflicting a wound on the nation from which it would take it half a century to recover. Nothing, in fact, was accomplished against a party who possessed this moral and material power by burning books and men. Either a tremendous conflict must be encountered, which would perhaps turn to the advantage of some foreign power, or concessions must be made. These they were now almost disposed to grant.

Catherine was certainly not influenced in this by religious opinions. There was never the least evidence that she leaned to one side or the other. She was a Catholic outwardly ; as a Medici, a relation of two popes, she had never learned to be anything else. Protestantism, with its Calvinistic strictness, could be as little congenial to her frivolous views of life as its democratic tendencies to her ambition. *But she knew how to wear the colours that were in vogue, and to change them when occasion arose. The same person who instigated the Massacre of St. Bartholomew could issue edicts of toleration, and soon after the massacre tolerate the Protestants again.*

The first complaints of the Reformers were answered by an edict, by which all the imprisoned heretics were released,

but warned to mend their ways. An attempt was then to be made to settle the controversy by a discussion on religion at Poissy. This took place in the autumn of 1561. Calvin's most talented pupil, Theodore Beza, measured his strength with the Cardinal of Lorraine, Charles of Guise, as the representative of the French prelates.

The brilliant eloquence of Beza, who, like most of the Calvinistic preachers, was not only a theologian but a polished man of the world, distinguished him greatly from the average theologians of the day. There was nothing of the ordinary sectary about him; he behaved with perfect courtesy; he made some impression on the court. It was seen that these were people with whom intercourse might be held, though no closer approach was to be thought of.

An edict had been issued in July, which pleased neither party, and gave so much dissatisfaction that it was not proclaimed in a single French town except Paris, while the services were openly continued and the communion celebrated. A moderate edict of toleration was then tried.

On the 17th of January, 1562, the Edict of St. Germain was issued, by which the policy which had been pursued for forty years, of supporting the Protestants abroad and persecuting them at home, was given up.

The Protestants were forbidden to possess any churches of their own; they were to give up those they had, and neither to buy nor build others. On the other hand, they were permitted, until further notice, to hold their services outside the towns, unarmed, by day, and the police were to protect them. They were to observe the laws of the State and the festivals of the Romish Church; were not to hold any consistories or synods without consent of the higher powers; to make no statutes, to organize no troops either for offensive or defensive warfare, and to raise no taxes

among themselves. All the Reformers were to take an oath to teach only in accordance with the Scriptures, and not to neglect the mass and similar institutions, &c.

It was but a very limited amount of toleration ; still it was a great change when it was considered that in practice the edicts had not been carried out to the letter, and in very important respects all legal ground for persecution was removed. If Calvinism had made astonishing progress when it was proscribed, what might not be expected when it was permitted? "If," wrote Calvin, "the liberty promised us in the edicts lasts, the Papacy will fall to the ground of itself."

One thing was certain, that if the Reformers did not wish to lose everything, they must submit to the edict, even if it was in some respects harsh. Beza justly felt this, for he enjoined strict obedience on all the communities. But the disturbance of the peace came from the other side.

Catharine's wish to come to some terms with the heretics, without breaking with the Pope and Philip II., was not enough to put an end to the spirit of persecution which had been fostered by the traditions of forty years. The posts of authority in most of the cities, and especially in the Parisian Parliament, were occupied by Catholics ; the people could not all at once accustom themselves to acknowledge as legal the services which they had hitherto scoffed at and molested, especially since it was said that the Queen was not in earnest, and had only made a sacrifice to policy.

Causes of irritation and disputes arose, and the Queen howed little disposition to interfere.

THE THREE FIRST RELIGIOUS WARS.—THE MASSACRE AT VASSY, MARCH, 1562, TO THE RELIGIOUS PEACE OF ST. GERMAIN, AUGUST, 1570.

Meanwhile an unheard-of violation of the January Edict took place. On Sunday morning, 1st of March, 1562, the brothers Guise, with a suite of two hundred armed nobles and soldiers, entered the little town of Vassy as the Protestants were assembling for worship in a barn. The preaching had begun, when some of the Duke's followers rushed in, disturbed the worship, and made an uproar. Of course the congregation tried to defend themselves. The armed men then attacked them in a mass, and the defenceless people were shot or cut down with sabres, the rest dispersed, and their houses plundered.

The news of the massacre of Vassy flew through France. It was universally believed that it was a pre-meditated and most mischievous breach of the treaty, and there is nothing in history to refute it. The Duke said, in self-justification, that he sent two of his people into the barn to reprove the heretics for their disobedience ; but this constituted a breach of the peace. The Guises wished for a conflict as a means of regaining their power, and they had their wish, for the massacre was the signal for the first civil war.

Thus began those fearful wars which lasted from this time to the reign of Henry IV., and they comprised everything that can make war horrible—religious and political fanaticism, interference from abroad, wild passions of every sort, and that fearful hatred by which two contending parties who are related are generally animated. In their horrors, in the European sympathy they elicited, in their course, these wars remind us of the great German war ; only that in this case a

man appeared who, supported by the monarchical inclinations of the nation, in a few years restored its ancient glory to the kingdom, its lost unity to the nation. But the conflict was terrible; the desolation of whole neighbourhoods, the massacre of whole populations, has given it a horrible immortality. It seems to me that there is a certain ferocity in the French nation, which, when the external polish is once rubbed off, breaks out with a boundless recklessness which is not found among other civilised nations. This was the case now, as well as in the great political Revolution of 1789. Other nations have experienced the horrors of religious and political wars, but history presents no other instance of the refinements of cruelty which were practised in France in 1793.

Hostilities began with the petty warfare of parties in cities and districts; at Paris, Sens, Toulouse, Rouen, and other places, the Catholics fell upon their Protestant fellow-citizens, destroyed their houses of prayer, and murdered those who fell into their power. The Huguenots then threw themselves upon the Catholic churches, destroyed images, altars, and censers—in short, everything that belonged to Catholic worship. Thus image-breaking and bloodshed raged for weeks in the fairest districts of France before the hostile armies faced each other. When these at length—one under Guise, the other under Coligny—were set in motion, nothing but skirmishes and devastation of the enemy's country took place at first; no decisive action. But it became clearer and clearer that the Huguenots, who lost one town after another, and whose lack of money was ever increasing, were decidedly at a disadvantage in conflict with the growing power of the Guises. They lost the battle of St. Dreux, December, 1562; but, on the other hand, their adversary's most able general, the Duke of Guise, was assassinated by

a Huguenot nobleman, 18th of February, 1563, and with him the greatest obstacle to the attempts at mediation which Catharine had been making was removed.

They had been tearing each other to pieces for months; the Protestant minority had not been able to vanquish the majority, which had foreign aid, but neither had the majority been able to exterminate the heretics. If the fanaticism of the Catholics demanded the sacrifice of thousands one day, it was balanced by the thousands that fell a sacrifice to the revenge of their adversaries the next. At length they desisted from this murderous work, not because they were reconciled, but exhausted, and saw that a truce was necessary. Precisely a year after the massacre of Vassy a new edict was issued at Amboise, which went a step farther than that of 1562.

The Reformers were granted liberty of conscience, an amnesty for the past, and were promised undisturbed enjoyment of their property, honours, and offices. The celebration of divine service was regulated as follows: to the barons and all the lords invested with superior jurisdiction, was granted the right to hold services at their chateaux for themselves and their retainers; to the inferior nobles, only for themselves; in every official district a town was appointed, in the suburbs of which Reformed service might be held; Paris always excepted.

The edict greatly favoured the superior nobility, but was very disadvantageous to the cities; for them, through the limitation of permission to hold service to one town in a district, as Coligny said, more churches were annihilated by a stroke of the pen than had been destroyed by all the inimical powers at work for ten years before.

It was not long before this edict was infringed, for neither party was disposed to abide by it; the Catholic majority saw in it only a false peace concluded insincerely

by the Crown, and the Calvinists would not give up the hope of some day attaining power in France. The number of their adherents was continually increasing, and their propaganda pursued its course.

It came to a second religious war, which ended, like the first, without any decision in 1567-8; and, as they again left off fighting from exhaustion, the Edict of Longjumeaux was issued, 23rd of March, 1568, which in essentials confirmed the previous one.

In 1569 the war began again. I will not relate the history of it in detail, but will confine myself to the decisive actions. Other things remained as they were; the Catholics maintained their supremacy, but the Protestants could not be exterminated.

It was one of Coligny's merits that though often beaten he never quitted the field, and always managed to secure an honourable position for the Protestants.

The third war, which was principally caused by the reaction of events in the Netherlands, and by the report that Alba had decided with the Queen Mother upon striking a blow at the Protestants in France, similar to the one he was aiming at the heretics in the Netherlands, was decided by the defeat of the Huguenots at Jarnac, where Condé and Moncontour fell, and ended by the Peace of St. Germain-en-Laye, August, 1570, which irrevocably confirmed the previous concessions, and added that in every district two places should be granted for the celebration of Protestant worship; but they were mostly small towns, and it was only in the suburbs of them; and that in all towns the Reformed service should remain as it had been up to the 1st of August. The Huguenots of every age were acknowledged as faithful subjects and servants, with a complete amnesty; their rights were acknowledged as equal to those of the

Catholics, and a law of recusance was granted them, to defend them from the Catholic Parliament.

The four cities of La Rochelle, Montauban, Cognac, La Charité, were granted to the Reformers as places of refuge, under an oath that after two years they should be restored to the King.

Eight years had passed in fearful conflicts, every one of which increased the need of toleration, and the stability of the nation had been greatly shaken by it. The court, the nobles, the people, were split up into parties; there was, as it were, a yawning chasm between the different parts of the nation; in some parts of the country it had become impossible for people of the two creeds to live together, so sharp had been the controversy, and so irreconcilably were men's minds divided. As may be imagined, France suffered severely from this; the great monarchy which had interposed with so much effect in European affairs, under Henry II., was sadly lamed. The kingdom was rent wide as the poles asunder. Edicts of toleration were issued in its name and violated, peace proclaimed and broken, cruelty practised and revenged.

All this could not fail to have a fearfully demoralising effect upon the mind of the nation; and, above all, on the character of a prince who had grown up from boyhood to youth amid such scenes, not gifted with talent or self-control, and but a plaything between his mother, the Guises, and the Huguenot leaders.

Charles IX., loaded with the curse of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, was afterwards regarded in France as the type of a degenerate king; and in the ninth decade of the last century, when the storm raged against monarchy, this inhuman prince was often alluded to, who himself fired at his fugitive subjects. Yet this picture is not precisely true.

This youth, now twenty years of age, was more to be pitied than blamed. It was a most tragic bit of human life which was played out within narrow limits, but he cannot be made alone or even chiefly responsible for it. Weakly from childhood, so brought up by his mother that he could never be independent, his mental growth was stunted—he grew up more coarse, uncultivated, and ignorant than any nobleman's son of his time. At this most critical period he received not the slightest training for his calling. He was addicted to childish sports, sat in the workshop and made locks, and these trivial tastes were purposely fostered by his mother, for a youth whose time was thus spent was not likely to be dangerous to her.

He had never had any more lofty aspirations. The healthy influence of a happy family life was wanting to him; there was not a single being about him who could raise him morally; the merry games of real childhood or the pleasures of learning in advancing youth were unknown to him; he had not even the salutary influence of knowledge of some one subject, which would at any rate have occupied his mind.

With all this, combined with a sickly body totally destitute of youthful vigour, he was not likely to feel any impulse to break these contemptible fetters and begin an independent life. He readily allowed himself to be seduced into excesses purposely placed in his way, in order that his remaining energies might be quenched; he allowed himself to be persuaded into one act to-day, another to-morrow; there was no one about him calculated to give him confidence in himself or others.

And it was upon this individual that enormous responsibility was thrown, in a situation of which a superior character would have found it difficult to solve the compli-

cations. He who takes all this into account will not be surprised at the result, and will be disposed to agree in my lenient estimate of his guilt.

The view which stamps him as a hardened wretch, and makes it appear that he himself instigated the horrid deed, is psychologically exaggerated. So weak a creature could not have been so early and so deeply debased. It is impossible to imagine him harbouring a consuming hatred for years, or possessing the unfathomable cunning and hypocrisy which circumvented the enemy till the day of reckoning came. This presupposes a degree of mental power which he did not possess ; we know him only as a vacillating weakling.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE MASSACRE OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW.

Coligny at Court, and the War with Spain, September, 1571—July, 1572.—The Massacre, 24th August, 1572, and the Fourth Religious War, 1572-3.—End of Charles IX., 30th May, 1574.

COLIGNY AT COURT, AND THE WAR WITH SPAIN.

AFTER the Peace of 1570, it appeared as if a complete change of policy was about to take place. The Queen pretended to be friendly with the Protestants; her relations with the ambitious Guises were distant and cold, and the project of uniting the houses of Bourbon and Valois by marriage really looked as if she was in earnest.

The most distinguished leader of the Huguenot party was the Admiral Caspar de Coligny. It is quite refreshing at this doleful period to meet with such a character. He was a nobleman of the old French school and of the best stamp; lived upon his estates with his family, his little court, his retainers and subjects, in ancient patriarchal style, and on the best terms, and regularly went with them to the Protestant worship and the communion; a man of unblemished morality and strict Calvinistic views of life. Whatever this man said or did was the result of his inmost convictions; his life was the impersonation of his views and thoughts. In the late turbulent times he had become an

important person as leader and organizer of the Protestant armies. At his call, thousands of noblemen and soldiers took up arms, and they submitted under his command to very strict discipline. He could not boast of having won many battles, but he was famous for having kept his resources together after repeated defeats, and for rising up stronger than before after every lost engagement.

At the same time, he was not too much of a Huguenot to regard as supreme the welfare of the whole country, as a Frenchman and a nobleman. When, at the beginning of the war, his party looked round for foreign aid, and proposed to apply to the German Protestant princes for succour, he replied, "Let us regard them as mediators, but not take any troops from them. Let us rather die than merit the reproach that the Huguenots were the first to bring foreign troops on to French soil." He always kept in view that both parties, when they had attained their rights, should submit to an honourable peace and feel themselves to be Frenchmen. Now that peace was made, "why," he asked, "excite further dissensions for the benefit of our common enemies? Let us direct our undivided forces against the real enemy of France—against Spain, who stirs up intrigues in our civil wars. Let us crush this power, which condemns us to ignominious dependence."

The war against Spain was Coligny's project. It was the idea of a good Huguenot, for it was directed against the most blindly fanatical and dangerous foe of the new doctrines; but it was also that of a good Frenchman, for a victory over Spain would increase the power of France in the direction of Burgundy, and would round it off in the most advantageous manner on the eastern side from Besançon to Ostend. This was the germ of the subsequent policy of Louis XIV.

From September, 1571, Coligny was at court. On his first arrival he was heartily welcomed by the King, embraced by Catharine, and loaded with honours and favours by both. I am not of opinion that this was a deeply laid scheme to entrap the guileless hero, the more easily to ruin him. Catharine's ideas did not extend so far. Still less do I believe that the young King was trained to play the part of a hypocrite, and regarded Coligny as a victim to be cherished until the fête day. I think, rather, that Catharine, in her changeableness and hatred of the Guises, was now really disposed to make peace with the Protestants, and that the young King was for the time impressed by this superior personage.

No youthful mind is so degraded as to be entirely inaccessible to such influence. A man commanding the respect due to age, but still in the vigour of life, with great moral dignity, yet true French *bonhomie*, could not fail to make an irresistible impression upon youth.

I am of opinion that Charles IX. was under this impression. I believe that the first and only happy day in the life of this unfortunate monarch was when he met Coligny, who raised him above the degradation of vulgar life; and I believe further, that this relation was the main cause of the massacre of St. Bartholomew. A new influence was threatening to surround the King and to take deep root, which Catharine, her son Henry of Anjou, and the strict Catholic party, must do their utmost to avert; and it was quite in accordance with the King's weak character to allow the man to be murdered whom he had just called "Father." *

* These and the following views of these events entirely agree with the confessions of Henry of Anjou himself. See Soldan, II., and compare the essay on "Frankreich und die Bartholomäusnacht," in Raumer's Hist. Taschenbuch. 1854.

Although we have but little light on the details of this catastrophe, we have sufficient information to form an opinion of the causes which led to it.

Since peace had been made, Coligny thought no more of a war of extermination between Catholics and Protestants, but—and in this he was considering the natural interests of the policy of France—of a national war, in which both parties should unite their forces against Spain.

This did not exclude, but rather made necessary, the support of foreign Protestants, of the Netherlands, the alliance with England, and the Protestant powers of Germany. In this he betrayed the Huguenot; still, it was not the only reason for his policy. In a struggle with Spain, it was not only liberty of conscience in and out of France that was at stake, the object also was to throw off an oppressive foreign yoke, and to get possession of the fine border country, which was afterwards the most valuable conquest of Louis XIV. The possession of the chain of fortresses from Luxemburg to Dunkirk was afterwards the chief aim of the foreign policy of France. It did not arise alone from blind hatred of the house of Hapsburg, it was a continuance of the path which Francis I. had opened up, and Henry II. had followed farther, and the moment had never been so favourable as now. Richelieu himself afterwards only imitated Coligny, but coldly and selfishly,—he was destitute of his enthusiasm.

Was it incredible that Charles IX. should be inspired with it?

What was uttered by Coligny in tones of the deepest conviction, reminded the prince, for the first time, of the treatment he had received, and of the unworthy position he had held with respect to the Spanish policy and its agents, his mother and the Guises. He was just at the age when

the royal blood could not fail to stir in him, and we know that just about this time, to the horror of his mother and brother, he repeatedly broke out into rash expressions.

During the first half of 1572 this turn of affairs was taking place.

Alba's system was on the decline; he had just adopted his final desperate measures, the stupid tax of the one hundredth, twentieth, and tenth pennies; an indescribable fury raged in the country, which might at any moment come to an outbreak, and the troops of Louis of Nassau and William of Orange had begun their operations. The situation, therefore, was favourable. If the Spanish power were to be lamed, no better opportunity could be expected.

It appears that about the middle of the year, the matter was as good as decided. The King willingly acceded to Coligny's plan. While the doubtful attitude of England, and the divided opinion of the Council, prevented any open interference, the King privately gave considerable sums for the support of the Flemish patriots, for the equipment of an army of four thousand men, composed of Catholics and Protestants, who marched towards Mons, to succour Louis of Nassau. When in July this army was beaten, and the majority of the Huguenots were in despair, Coligny succeeded in persuading the King to equip a fresh and still larger army; but the opposition then bestirred itself.

THE MASSACRE OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW, AUGUST 24TH,
1572.

The strict Catholic party had watched this turn of affairs with growing ill-will; they dreaded enmity with Spain, as the best ally of the unity of the faith, and rejected all idea

of peace and reconciliation with the heretics, the fatal foes of the good cause. The Guises found every government which thrust them on one side unsupportable.

The Queen was by no means enthusiastically in favour of Spain, whose commanding influence she often found oppressive; but to venture on a war with her was quite another thing, and in questions which concerned her dominion over the King, everything else was disregarded.

She had been absent with her married daughter in Lorraine, and on her return she found everything changed; the Guises without influence, herself thrust on one side.

Under the impression of the latest events in Flanders, which made it likely that the war with Spain would be ruinous, she hastened to the King, told him with floods of tears that it would be his ruin; that the Huguenots, through Coligny, had stolen the King's confidence, unfortunately for himself and the country. She made some impression upon him, but it did not last long, and thoughts of war gained the upper hand again.

The idea now (August, 1572) must have been matured in Catharine's mind of venturing on a desperate step, in order to save her supremacy and influence, for this consideration was always uppermost with her.

She had trifled with the friendship of the Huguenots, and now they had outwitted her; her power over the King, the fruit of the toil of a life-time, had slipped through her fingers, and through the Huguenots, whom she had dreaded least of all. She had never liked them, had never forgotten that they had formerly been inimical to her; all her fierce old hatred was stirred up when she saw her position threatened by these heretics.

She was a Medici; had passed a melancholy, joyless youth; had been brought as a stranger to the Court; had

been neglected by her husband, and thrust on one side under her eldest son. After a long course of humiliation, she had at length attained the authority she desired, as the adviser of her second son, and now it appeared that she had only brought him up for the Calvinists, and had really been working for them. This was too much for a Medici.

As to ways and means in such a situation, she shared the views of her nation. The passionate Italians are disposed to choose the shortest and most sanguinary methods. Political assassination has always been judged more leniently by them than by other nations; unhappily, political complications, combined with the hasty temperament of the people, have often caused them to resort to poison or the dagger, while the northerners are still debating. In the sixteenth century this sort of political morality was in full bloom, had been theoretically developed by Machiavelli with artless objectivity, and, as a passionate woman, Catharine was doubly disposed to resort to such means.

The idea ripened in her mind of getting rid of Coligny by assassination; she was convinced that it would serve her purpose, and all other considerations were disregarded.

Entirely of one mind with her son Henry, she turned to the Guises, with whom she was at enmity when they were in power, but friendly when they were of no more consequence than herself. They breathed vengeance against the Calvinists, and were ready at once to avenge the murder of Francis of Guise by a murderous attack upon Coligny.

An assassin was hired, and established in a house belonging to the Guises, near Coligny's dwelling, and as he came out of the palace, on the 22nd of August, a shot was fired at him, which wounded but did not kill him.

Had Coligny died of this wound, Catharine would have been content; her power would have been restored, the

Huguenots intimidated and deprived of their leader, the game which she played with both parties, to render each harmless by means of the other, could have begun again. But Coligny did not die; the Huguenots defiantly demanded vengeance on the well-known instigator of the deed; their threats reached the Queen and Prince Henry of Anjou, and the personal fascination which Coligny had exercised over King Charles appeared rather to increase than to diminish.

Thus doubtless arose, during the anxious hours after the failure of the assassination, the idea of an act of violence on a large scale, which should strike a blow at Coligny and his friends before they had time for revenge. It certainly had not been in preparation for months, not even since the time that Coligny had been at Court; it was conceived in the agony of these hours. Not that so diabolical a scheme was impossible in such a circle, but Catharine's character was not equal to it. In the heat of passion she could venture on the most fearful deeds, but she had not sufficient elasticity to plan such a scheme and to allow it gradually to ripen.

The new faith had been proscribed in Paris from the first—all the Edicts of toleration expressly excepted it and the neighbourhood—and the inhabitants cherished a growing hatred of the Huguenots, which it was hard to restrain and very easy to let loose. If the King could be persuaded to give the signal for an attack, a horrible massacre might be expected.

But the King was again in Coligny's hands, had seriously entered into the investigation of the attempt upon his life, dismissed the Guises with hard words from Court, sent a guard of fifty men to Coligny's house, and had had it proclaimed in Paris and the provinces that every part of the

religious Peace should be conscientiously observed. On the afternoon of the 23rd of August the Queen made a final attempt with the King. She told him of a vast Huguenot conspiracy against throne and altar, which, with thousands of well-armed troops, was only awaiting the right moment, under Coligny's command, to attack him and all his house ; the Catholics were asleep ; unless the King roused himself, and under a leader chosen by himself resisted the Huguenots, he would stand alone, and all would be lost.* This downright lie took effect ; orders were given for the massacre, and it was organized on a large scale for the following night. A vast number of the Huguenots had come to Paris for the celebration of the marriage of Henry of Navarre with the King's sister ; thousands had been attracted by this peaceful and conciliatory festival ; the plan was, at a given signal, to fall upon the sleeping guests. The Guises sent for the *Prevôts des Marchands* and the superintendents of the various quarters, explained the plan to them, and gave them their commissions. To make sure that none of the more important persons should escape, individuals were commissioned to murder particular persons, and the Duke of Guise took care to undertake the murder of Coligny. These doings have a horrible similarity to those of 1792, when the superintendents of the sections were sent for to have the plan of the prison murders explained to them. The murderous orders had to be despatched to the provinces by couriers.

The horrors of the night of the 24th of August took place

* According to the confessions of Henry of Anjou, the Queen only wished for the head of Coligny and those of some of his friends, but Charles IX. said in a tremendous rage that, if the Admiral must die, not a single Huguenot should remain alive to reproach him with the deed. This, then, was the cause of the massacre, which was not at first intended by Catharine and Henry.—Soldan.

in this way. At a given signal the leaders left their posts, collected their comrades, fell upon the Huguenot quarter, and murdered the defenceless people. About 2,000 were met with, very few of whom escaped. Similar signals were despatched to all the larger places, and very few of the superintendents had the courage to answer that they were not assassins. There were but isolated instances of mercy and conscience; in general the command was carried out as it was given, and it throws a ghastly light on the nation and its rulers. The King, dragged along like a powerless instrument, took part in these horrors, and was seized with the horrid ambition to assist in the project which was not his own invention.

Blind revenge and passion are bad counsellors. Not a single project of the house of Valois, which thought it was contending for its Crown, or of the mother of its last King, whose whole soul was engrossed in ambition, was accomplished by the deed. Their dynasty was ruined, but the Huguenots were not exterminated.

20,000, 25,000, even 100,000 victims are spoken of—the smallest number is the most probable! It was a tremendous blow for the party. Most of its leaders were cut off; the grey-headed Coligny was cut to pieces; but, though weaker by 20,000 men, it was strong enough to begin the war of revenge again. A fierce hatred had been excited in the remnants of the party, which perhaps was of greater value than the loss they had sustained. Charles IX. wrote on 26th of August to his ambassador in the Netherlands:—“This fire will extend to every city of my empire, and all the followers of the new religion will be made harmless.” This opinion also prevailed at Rome and Madrid. The Pope had a solemn *Te Deum* celebrated, and Philip II. broke out into a coarse triumphal laugh at the news.

But in almost every other country of Europe, even in the zealous Catholic States, there was but one voice of horror and condemnation.

The Emperor Maximilian II. expressed the feeling of the world when he said that it pained him to reckon such a murderous crew among his relations, and he was father-in-law to Charles IX. The Pope and Philip II., however, lauded it as an act well pleasing to God, and one that did honour to the title of the "Most Christian King." Was it probable that, even among these fanatical assassins, such a monarchy should continue to exist? Was it possible that when passion had cooled, and the calm voice of the nation was heard again, a monarchy would be forgiven whose name was stained by the most bloody deed that ever disgraced a royal house? In the eyes of the nation, no blessing could ever again rest on it. Just as Catharine thought she had attained dominion for ever, she was giving the most fatal blow to her authority.

Thus a fresh religious war arose. All that were not murdered of the Huguenot party took up arms. It was absolutely necessary for them to defend their rights, and it became evident how many remained. None of the wars were so feebly carried on by the royal party as this one; it seemed as if an evil conscience lamed their powers.

Among the Catholic population itself, a party split off from the fanatics, who were called, first in jest and then in earnest, "The Politicians." They condemned the war of extermination against religious creeds, and demanded immediate abolition of the misgovernment of the Court party, which was becoming more and more intolerable. Political opposition now assailed the helpless throne; and if we are ever justified in thinking we see the Nemesis following close upon a guilty act, we are so in this case. The murder

scheme had failed ; the Huguenots were not exterminated ; the Catholic party was split into two camps ; Catharine had to share her power with the Guises, and was helpless between the two parties ; the King felt the burden of the night of the 24th of August press upon him more heavily than any one else.

The ghosts of those who had been slain by his orders were ever before his eyes ; he often rose in the night, and rushed in despair through the dreary apartments of his palace, followed by bleeding forms and confused voices. He was not enough of a villain to get over it as others would have done ; he was a weak child, who had been persuaded to vile deeds, and was racked to death by the stings of conscience.

Two years after the night of St. Bartholomew his feeble life came to an end ; he pined away without any particular disease, consumed by a dissolute life, and the remembrance of an act which he was weak enough to permit, and not strong enough to overcome.

This was a heavy blow to Catharine ; her tool was dead, the throne again vacant, and that at a moment when the Netherlands had risen, the Huguenots were in arms, and the Catholic party filled with discontent and in process of dissolution.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

HENRY III., 1574-89, AND THE LEAGUE.

Character of Henry.—The Edict of May, 1576, and the Holy League of the Guises.—Protracted Vacillation.—Death of Francis of Anjou, June, 1584, and Contest about the Succession.—The War of the Three Henrys, 1588-9.—The Barricades of Paris, May, 1588.—The States at Blois, October, 1588, and the Murder of the Two Guises, 23rd and 24th December, 1588.—Flight and Murder of Henry III., August 2nd, 1589.

CATHARINE'S third son, Henry III., now began to reign. It was said that he was the one most deeply imbued with her ideas, and that he yielded the most willingly to her advice. He had spent his youth among the Guises, adhered jealously to the strict Catholic party—not from religious sentiments, but from purely external motives. He had dutifully aided his mother in the arrangement of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, and he himself relates after what vicissitudes she finally attained her end in her attacks upon the King's relations with Coligny, and with what anxious suspense she listened for the murderous signal of the alarm bell on the night of the 24th of August.

At this juncture a prospect had opened of providing for Henry, whom it was not easy to keep in France, by means of his election to the throne of Poland. By dint of great pecuniary sacrifices he had been elected King, and Poland

thought the French kingdom would aid Polish weakness. Just as he ascended the throne, news came of his brother's death, and Henry laid aside the crown—did not even abdicate, but simply deserted the Polish throne in order to ascend the French one. In spite of his slender build and love of sensual pleasures, he was more vigorous than either of his brothers, produced more the impression of a French noble than his predecessor, and was believed to have more mental power. He was certainly more deeply initiated into his mother's political morality. What in Charles IX. was contemptible weakness, was in him voluntary co-operation; what in the one case was extorted by lies and intimidation from a demoralised nature, was in the other the acquiescence of detestable frivolity which agreed to anything and shrunk from nothing. Still, there was nothing manly in this personage; though more gifted than his brothers, and not so easily treated as a minor, there was nothing of the King about him, and he was even more repulsive than they were.

The horrible corruption of Charles's Court, its foolery and frivolity, had no better representative than Henry of Anjou. He had gone through frightful excesses; his youth had nothing to show but dissolute feats, or even crimes. It is related of him that he went through the streets as a Merry-Andrew, or with wild beasts like a bear-leader, attired in such a fashion that his sex was indistinguishable; or broke into the houses of the peaceful citizens by night with a crew of dissolute companions. Neither was he wanting in the bigotry of which this Court could boast. One day he might be seen with the notorious "mignons," or seizing the wives and daughters of Parisian husbands and citizens; the next he went to church, joined in masses and processions to atone for the horrors of the previous night. As to honour, faith, honesty, and loyalty, he was truly worthy of his mother.

This was the Valois upon whose shoulders the burden was laid of healing the woes of a distracted country.

The religious contest was not adjusted ; the Huguenots were deeply embittered ; new leaders were at the head ; the land groaned under misgovernment, which was worse than ever ; the treasury was empty ; there was no money to pay the officials, the troops, or the household ; discontent was increasing among all classes ; and there was a party of eminent men who were clamouring for political reforms.

And now the dangers of the situation were incorporated in an ominous League between the Huguenots and the Catholic politicians. Both renounced the idea of a unity of faith for all France ; gave up the endless civil wars, and wished for peace on the principle of reciprocal toleration, and directed their forces against the Crown with a united demand for reforms, abolition of the great abuses, and convocation of the States of the empire.

In the presence of these complications, Henry III. had not the power, was too insignificant to go to work like a King, to put an end to factions by reigning supreme above them. He chose the dishonourable path of fostering intrigues, and for years played a deceitful game ; but so clumsily, that the commonest understanding could see through it.

In May, 1576, he made peace with the politicians and Huguenots, revoked the policy of the massacre, put an end to the legal disabilities of its victims, granted the heretics, with the exception of Paris, unlimited religious liberty, equality in filling offices and dignities in every Parliament ; a chamber composed of an equal number of Catholics and Protestants, and eight fortresses, as a pledge that the treaty should be observed.

The Catholics did not fail to strike a counter-blow to this edict. With the help of Spain, Henry of Guise collected

together all those who held to the preservation of the unity of the faith, at any price and by any means, in an alliance called the Holy League ; it was formed in 1576, and found considerable support in the meeting of the States at Blois, in December of that year. Resistance to the utmost to the Huguenots, and to all who should join themselves to them, was the programme of this League.

At Blois, the King showed that he was not in earnest with his concessions to the Huguenots. The Holy League had not long been formed when the King joined it, and recalled all that he had previously granted. It came to a religious war. Royalty and the opposing parties once more met upon the battle-field, the former to play the forlorn part of being watched by the Catholics as partly, and by the Protestants as altogether a traitor. This war confirmed what had been granted to the Huguenots in 1576 ; but the seventh war, which quickly followed, deprived them of it again until the Edict of toleration was renewed at the Peace of Fleix. Things could not go on as they were ; royalty sunk deeper every day in the estimation of all parties ; alarming political projects were stirring, when in June, 1584, another death took place which hastened the crisis.

This was the death of the fourth son of Henry II. and Catharine, Francis of Alençon, who, after the accession of Henry III., had received the title of Duke of Anjou, and had been looked upon as Henry's successor. He had allowed himself to be made a tool of by all parties ; had at length appeared as a Pretender in the south of the Netherlands ; had tried all sorts of schemes in order to cut a figure, but he had not talent enough for it. On the 10th of June, 1584, he died, and it was in fact the most important thing he had ever done.

He was the last of the Valois, and the Bourbons were

now thought of as successors. The representative of the claims of this house was Henry, King of Navarre, who, compelled on the night of St. Bartholomew to abjure his faith, had afterwards escaped and placed himself at the head of his old party.

Spain and Rome laboured against his right of succession, against the elevation of the heretical Bourbons; and just as they were beginning to look round for a Catholic dynasty in France, the well-known work, "Stemmata," appeared in Lorraine, in which it was shown that the Guises were descended from the Carolingians, and were thus the legitimate house; while the French kings were all usurpers. They forgot in their zeal that the Carolingians themselves were arrant usurpers, and that they should have gone back to the Merovingians. An eighth religious war then began about the throne, which has been called the War of the Three Henrys. From the end of 1585 there was a melancholy campaign, the issue of which neither party could foresee, and in which the King and his mother played a most pitiful part. The King at first sought to maintain a position in the camp of the League, but vanished before Henry of Guise. He then tried to take an independent course; but every attempt led to more painful and ignominious defeats, until nothing availed but assassination, which overthrew the kingdom of the last of the Valois.

There could be no doubt with the masses who was the lawful King, the wretched Henry III. or the powerful Duke of Guise. It required a persistent idea of legitimacy to remain loyal to one about whom everything was despicable except his legal right to the throne. Henry of Guise could not be looked upon as other than a usurper, but he displayed unquestionable superiority in playing his part. He was not the great general which his father was con-

sidered to be, but in chivalrous personal bravery he equalled if he did not excel him. Then he was handsome, eloquent, winning, exercised quite a fascination over the masses, was without the weakness for women of Henry III., was distinguished in all manly exercises, was the best rider, fencer, swimmer in France, and was blameless in faithfulness to his convictions. The party which he led was in great measure the creation of his family; it was a party which knew no capitulation; he stood or fell with it. However worthless its programme may be considered, it must be granted that the Guises stood by it firmly, while the King and his mother, broken reeds as they were, inclined now to this side and now to the other.

At Rome and Madrid they were already designating the hero of the League as the legal Catholic King, and the book called the "Stemmata" was intended to mislead the legitimist conscience of the people. The pitiful bearing of the King towards the Duke of Guise was as if designed to make the Pretender popular, and to complete the bankruptcy of the lawful crown. The French sources relate with a certain humour the King's attempt in 1588 to rid himself of his inconvenient Mayor of the Palace, and how it ended in preparing a complete triumph for the latter.

Guise had entered Paris with several hundred knights, in order, as he said, to justify himself to the King against false accusations, but in truth to wring from him entire submission to the commands of the League. The people had received the Pretender with immense rejoicings, and the King was so enraged, that for a moment he thought of having him assassinated. To defend himself, he caused a troop of 6,000 men to enter the city, who would, properly made use of, have been quite sufficient to put down the Duke and all his followers; but the organization was so bad,

that Guise succeeded, under the eyes of the King's soldiers, who stood like "iron pillars," in inciting the masses to rise and construct barricades, which put all Paris into his power, and compelled the King to fly. The Duke took possession of the city, the people did homage to him as their Lord, the wretched King entered into negotiations, and in July signed a programme which really made the Duke regent and supreme ruler, and reduced the King to a mere puppet.

Henry could not forget this, and resolved to get rid of the Duke by a secure method.

In October, 1588, the States were convoked at Blois, and it had to be shown who was master, the King or the Duke. Henry III. experienced one disappointment after another. Even in the opening speech, he had to listen to a coarse attack on the ambition of the great, and then to confirm by oath the programme of the League.

But the spirit by which a large portion of the assembly was animated, indicated a new and tremendous danger, of which the King had no idea. Ideas of reform in the empire were expressed, as bold and radical as those of 1789; even more so, for they did not adhere to the one point to which all parties adhered then—the entire unity of the State—but suggested projects of decentralisation, with privileges for the nobles, the States and the provinces, which did not at all comport with the great work of the house of Valois. A monarchy limited by a standing committee of the States was proposed, and the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people preached, which, in spite of its ecclesiastical dress, was as revolutionary as possible. All the King's legal power is granted him by the States; if he surpasses it, it reverts to the States; questions of war, peace, taxes, &c., cannot be decided without them, &c. If we consider also the revolutionary organization of the city of Paris, divided

into districts exactly as in 1792, governed by secret leaders which had already, on the day of the barricades, the 12th of May, made itself a fearful lever of democratic agitation, the similarity between this state of things and that of the great Revolution becomes very striking, and the distinction disappears that on the one occasion these things were demanded in the name of the Catholic Church, on the other were based upon the rights of man. This was the alarming situation in which Henry III. found himself when, as he saw no other mode of escape, he formed the desperate resolution of murdering the captains of the League, after he had tried in vain to conquer them.

The King had already discussed the plan of the murder with the most confidential members of his body guard, when Henry of Guise still felt quite secure, although he had been repeatedly warned. "He will not venture on it," he said, like Danton in a similar situation. He did not give the prince, whose insignificance no one knew better than himself, credit for power to carry out so heroic a plan. When, on the morning of the 23rd of December, 1588, he was going to the King, he was struck down in the same apartments where, sixteen years before, he had initiated the massacre. His brother Charles shared the same fate, and many of the most influential leaders of the party were imprisoned.

The King thought that with the leaders he had destroyed the party itself: this was a mistake. Civil war raged almost all over France, and in Paris there was complete anarchy. The Ligue des Seize—so the chief lodge of a number of clubs spread over France was called—seized the reins of government, put its creatures into every post, turned out all who opposed them, and tried the King by Parliament.

Helpless and forsaken, the King now fled to the camp of the Huguenots, sought protection from those whom he had

been most consistent in opposing, and among whom there were many who hated him as the murderer of their nearest relations. Henry of Navarre suppressed all these feelings—a great proof of his power over the army. The King was greeted as a King. At the same time it was a perpetual embarrassment to the Huguenots to have this empty-headed, weak-minded creature in their camp. The fanaticism of the party of the Guises delivered them from it. One of the priests, who had daily heard it preached at Paris that it was meritorious to murder a tyrant—a Dominican, Jacob Clement—entered the camp and gave the King a fatal stab. A few hours after, Henry III. was a corpse, 2nd of August, 1589. The murder of the King, which had long been preached, was now put in practice. The new political doctrine of the Jesuits and the Council of Trent had passed through every stage, from producing mere demagogues and rebellion up to regicide ; people knew now what might be expected from it.

CHAPTER XXIX.

HENRY IV., 1589-1610.

Character of Henry IV.—His Struggle for the Crown, 1789-93.—Dissolution of the Opposing Party.—Charles of Mayenne, the Parisian Demagogues, Plans of Philip II.—Henry's Conversion to Catholicism; Motives for and Consequences of this Step.—Henry's Administration, 1594-1610.—Peace of Vervins, May, 1598.—Edict of Nantes, 1598.—Sully's Administration.—Plan of a Great Protestant Alliance against Spanish Hapsburg.—Henry's Murder, by Ravallac, May 14th, 1610.

CHARACTER OF HENRY IV.

A NEW era now begins for France. According to law and usage, Henry of Navarre was undoubtedly king. The Bourbons were descended from the younger, the last of the Capets and the Valois from the elder sons of St. Louis; but the step from legal to acknowledged and actual possession was a long and difficult one.

Henry found confusion, dissolution, and civil war everywhere. At first he only possessed the smaller portion of his kingdom. His inheritance, Protestant Bearn, stood by him, as did also the Huguenot naval fortress of La Rochelle, the Cevennes, the faithful nobles in Dauphiné, Poitou, Saintonge, and the scattered Protestant communities in the south of France, and subsidies were granted him by the German Protestant princes. The country whose lawful ruler he was

had to a great extent to be conquered, and when conquered would have to submit to an entirely new order of things, which would control disorder and licence, and restore law and order.

Henry IV. was the child of this wild period of civil war, had grown up to manhood in camp, and amidst dangers and disputes.

His marriage had furnished the occasion for the massacre of St. Bartholomew. While his fellow-religionists were succumbing to the murderous accomplices of the Guises, he was compelled to abjure his faith in order to save his life. His heroic mother, Jeanne d'Albret, had died under suspicious circumstances; he had taken part in numerous conflicts, had been hardened by many reverses. At first he had only been tested as a brave soldier, and more than this he did not appear to be.

And yet he was the means of changing the aspect of France. The loyal sentiments of the nation were fixed upon him; a healthy patriotism, which had perished in the horrors of civil war and religious animosity, warmed up at the sight of him; and he was the man to bring about the needful change, and to give it the right direction. He was not one of those superior men who can call forth mighty creations out of chaos, and point out the course which shall be taken for a long time to come, and yet he was not far behind them.

He possessed to the full that happy talent of attracting all cognate elements to himself—of nullifying all that was inimical, of retaining the mastery in all the situations of life. This was a proof of unusual personal greatness, even if it cannot be said that he launched new and bold ideas into the world.

He was, above all things, a thorough soldier, as after his

past history he could not fail to be. After the close of the great war two hundred actions were counted, besides the great battles in which he had been engaged, and almost always without receiving any injury. He had that happy and careless disregard of danger which is bred of the popular heroic spirit—which feels, and makes others feel, that he is under a propitious star. This always excites enthusiasm among a people so impressible as the French for military glory.

Still he was not only a soldier. Even while pursuing the bloody trade of war, he had retained a nobility of nature ; the softer traits of a royal character had not been effaced by camp life. He not only knew how to plunge into the tumult of battle with his comrades and soldiers, or as a general to measure the distances over a wide expanse : he was also a simple, open-hearted, chivalrous man, who heartily enjoyed life, and had plenty of natural dexterity in adapting himself to men—in detecting at a glance their strong and weak points.

The stories of the amiable private life of his youth are well known, so different from the coarse, selfish sensuality and bigotry of the last of the Valois. It was told how he caroused, joked, and laughed with his friends ; one day gave himself up to love-making, the next kept up free, unrestrained intercourse with the people ; greeted every one with royal and winning grace, sympathizingly inquired after the welfare of the humblest, gained men's favour more rapidly by a well-timed word and his ready wit than by the greatest victories on the battle-field.

Besides all this, he possessed a wonderful elasticity, could endure privations and fast with any one. Notwithstanding his sensuous temperament, he could rest upon the bare ground, share frost, heat, hunger, and thirst with the most insignificant of his soldiers, and yet be the first to face the

enemy, the last to leave the field. He carried on the most various pursuits simultaneously and with equal zeal, and his perpetual love affairs and boundless excesses, which usually enfeeble the strongest, never crippled his energies. When he died, it was felt that a youthful, vigorous, richly-gifted life, teeming with health, was cut off in its midst. He knew nothing of weakness, illness, or those hypochondriacal fancies which were the curses of the last of the Valois. The only bitterness of which he was capable, now and then showed itself in transient humours, and a soldier-like contempt for human life. It may well be said that Henry IV. was a Frenchman *par excellence*; he exhibited the bright and dark sides of the national character completely; the frivolity and tendency to excess, the taste for martial glory, the indestructible light-mindedness and social virtuosity, the chivalry of sensuous life. It is obvious that such a personage was well adapted to revive the extinct loyalty of the nation.

Henry IV. also possessed grand royal traits of character. He may be called frivolous for being so entirely destitute of revenge, for forgiving and forgetting so easily, but it was an immense advantage to the people after a thirty years' civil war. How often it was suggested to him to revenge himself on a conquered foe, and how nobly he always rejected the proposal! The zealots of his own party, who could not forget the butchery of St. Bartholomew, and many other things, might think it frivolous, but it was an unspeakable advantage for the restorer of the national kingdom. He came as the king of an ill-treated, betrayed, and fearfully irritated party; but, during his reign of twenty years he always appears as the king of the whole people, never as the successful leader of a party. The Bourbons of our days would have been on the throne still had they displayed these royal qualities.

He was a man of strong sensuality, but his mistresses never had any political influence over him, and amidst his countless love affairs he never forgot the duties imposed upon him by his proud and onerous calling; he was sufficiently well schooled in the grave business of life to give a higher place to men of merit than to women and their favour. The harsh and obstinate Sully often reproached him bitterly with his frivolity, and strenuously opposed him in great measures; the contest sometimes becomes so sharp that it would be no surprise if he dismissed his unamiable minister and devoted himself to women. But we know that no such purpose ever crossed his mind.

THE ELEVATION OF HENRY IV. TO THE THRONE.

The King's position was a very difficult one. His relations to the two parties who had been fighting for life or death were not yet clear. He was not a fanatic, like those about him. As the son of a zealous Calvinistic mother, he had been brought up as one of the Reformed party from childhood, but he had had to go through sundry metamorphoses. During the night of St. Bartholomew he was compelled to become a Catholic, and when free became again a Protestant. Thus he was able to look at things with a cooler head than the partisans around him. His interests were indeed connected with the Reformed party, but he was able to put its religious creed on and off like something external, which was afterwards of some importance to him.

Even before the helpless Henry III. had taken refuge in his camp, the leader of the Huguenots had put in a conciliatory word amidst the war of Catholic and Protestant Frenchmen.

Under date of 4th of March, 1589, he had issued an

eloquent address to the States and all his countrymen, protesting against the impatient spirit of the States at Blois, and he indicates peace between the creeds as the only method of healing the sick State. "Have pity, Frenchmen, on your fair country!" he had exclaimed; "cease to stain it with the blood of your own sons, to the scorn and malicious satisfaction of your enemies; desist from civil war and return to concord. I myself will give an example of conciliation. I will take under my protection all the party and persons of the Catholics, even their priests; for I know it is only by means of clemency, peace, and good example, that true piety can flourish, and distracted States can recover."

These views did honour to the patriot and the politician; but to cause them to take effect amidst fierce party spirit was a difficult and arduous task, as Henry experienced to the full. His first declaration, after the death of Henry III., was calculated to make both parties beholden to him. He declined to accept the suggestion that he should become a Catholic. A creed for which thousands of the lower classes had joyfully surrendered their lives, could not be lightly rejected by him who would be worthy of the crown of France. It might be done by a scoffer, one who had no religion at all, but such an one they did not wish for a king. On the other hand, he did not think that the creed in which he had been born and bred was free from errors; he would not close his ears against instruction on the subject, when the peers and office-bearers of the realm assembled around him, should they find an opportunity of discussing the question.

A compromise was then agreed on, according to which the King was to receive instruction in the Catholic religion, and was to protect the Catholics in their rights and dignities.

In thus giving the Catholics hopes that he was not inaccessible to capitulation, and showing the Protestants that he was not going lightly to abjure his faith, he wished to prevent the open outbreak of schism in his camp. Had he not done the first, the Catholic nobles would have at once forsaken him, and have probably strengthened the forces of the League. Nevertheless, his position was in the highest degree difficult. The strict Catholics did not conceal their mistrust; and the strict Huguenots, who regarded any approach to the Catholics as defection or treason, were deeply displeased. The fascination which he exercised over them, the recollection of long companionship in arms, induced them to overlook it; but he could not prevent their uttering reproaches in his presence.

Thus there was a party for him whom he did not dare to offend, and had to treat with the greatest consideration; and another, more than half against him, who were only to be bought by concessions. There was at first no talk of royal authority, or of taxes, revenue, &c. He carried on the war with foreign heretical money, and strengthened his army with Swiss and German hirelings; in short, in spite of his undoubted legal claims to the throne, he was really only a pretender, who had, amidst a thousand dangers, to conquer his country and crown.

The great Powers of Europe, with the exception of England, only now becoming great, were against him; the Spanish Hapsburgs were against him; Philip II. declared at once that he did not acknowledge his rights; Rome, in a bull of September, 1585, declared him incompetent to reign; and the German Hapsburgs mostly went with their Spanish relations.

Not to despair in such a situation demanded the courage and elasticity of a man like Henry IV. His army was

small, his means scanty; a great Power like Spain was opposed to him, whose most talented general, Alexander of Parma, was now entering France from the Netherlands; the League was in possession of Paris; only a very small part of the Catholic population was on his side; the adhesion of the Huguenots was but doubtful. It was a situation which no ordinary man could face without dismay.

But during these bitter days we never hear a word of despair or discouragement from Henry IV. On the contrary, he seems secure in the consciousness that he must conquer, and, in fact, so long as he reigned, his cause was not lost.

It was fortunate for him that his opponents were by no means united. Had Spain, the Guises, and the whole Catholic population united against him, a struggle must have ensued in which Henry IV. could not have been victorious.

In the first place, among the party of the Guises there was not a man to put in Henry's stead who would have ventured to aspire to the crown, and thereby to give the Revolution—for a revolution it was—a distinct programme. The surviving brother of the Guises, Charles of Mayenne, was a brave soldier, but he wanted Henry's talents and adventurous ambition. He stood rather for the security of his brother's will, in order that the banner of the party of the League, whose born leader he was, should be upheld, than had courage to carry it out to its legitimate consequences; he did not venture to have himself proclaimed king, as his friends advised, so that king should stand face to face with king, but only took half measures, which turned to his adversary's advantage.

The legitimate right of Henry IV. was rejected; but as they wished to have an opposition king, if only a nominal one,

they seized upon the only Catholic Bourbon, Henry's uncle, a man of sixty-seven years of age, who had never troubled himself about the government, and, as a cardinal, was quite unfit to play this part. He was proclaimed king as Charles X. The legitimacy which they wished to maintain was only apparent, and the hereditary right of the house whose next heirs were passed over was only confirmed.

The nephew took possession of the person of his uncle, and kept him in honourable imprisonment, but so that his adversaries could not get at him. The newly-proclaimed King was in the hands of his most dangerous rival. Then, within the party which had hitherto been united, divisions began to take place.

The frightful conspiracy of the Sixteen, who had now become all-powerful at Paris, had at first nothing in common with the League except its enemies; composed from the first of an undisciplined mob, and tending to general anarchy, the mobocracy, the terrorism of the demagogues, now prevailed to so unexampled an extent at Paris that it was no longer compatible with any tactics directed to great general ends. The Duke of Mayenne was a soldier, and felt the natural aversion of the camp to the wild doings of lawless crowds. He hated the barricading plan and the terrorism of the masses, and was soon of opinion, at the risk of incurring the deepest displeasure of the demagogues, that there was nothing for it but to hang up a few of the loudest of them to secure peace. Having subdued the mutineers in November, 1591, he put it in practice.

Thus in the midst of the party itself an opposition had arisen between the Legitimists of the camp and the Monarchists of the capital, and a variance had arisen among the heads of the coalition, which continually increased.

Spain, Rome, and the Guises had hitherto held together ; all three had expressed themselves strongly against Henry's right of succession ; and since the book had appeared about the legitimacy of the Guises, it was supposed that the vacated throne was meant for them ; but this appeared to be a mistake, so far as Philip II., the most powerful of the allies, was concerned.

Had it been the murdered Henry of Guise, perhaps Spain would have been accommodating, though she would not acknowledge Charles of Mayenne as king ; but it was becoming continually more evident that she had an intention of reigning in France herself. Under the last of the Valois, Philip II. had exerted a powerful influence in French affairs. Spanish money and Spanish intrigues had constantly torn and kept open the wounds of the civil war. If France becomes Protestant, so said his spokesmen, the Netherlands and Spain itself will fall victims to heresy. Thus, after the death of Henry III., they justified increased interference in the internal affairs of France. Charles of Mayenne was advised with threats not to grasp at the crown. When Charles X. was proclaimed, it was said, the old cardinal cannot be king—let there be a regency ; and the most natural regent would be Philip II. At length, in 1593, it was proposed to make Philip's daughter, the Infanta Clara Eugenia, regent. She was to marry an Austrian archduke, and France would be made an appanage of the house of Hapsburg.

This was with Philip the ambition of despair. He had failed in subduing the Netherlands ; his attack upon England was defeated ; his last shift was the crazy idea of gaining a firm footing in France—perhaps thence he could take up the other great schemes again.

With an almost bankrupt State, a shipwrecked fleet, and

a decimated army, it was a desperate undertaking to try to make a Spanish province of a country whose people glowed with national feeling. Among all the forces which played a part in these complications, nothing helped Henry IV. so much as this Spanish attempt upon the independent existence of France. The simple consciousness that they were Frenchmen began to stir in the hearts of thousands, and overcame the dissensions of religious parties. Many an honest man began to suspect the League, and perceived that their country was standing on the edge of a precipice. Among these was Villeroy, who began to vacillate, and whom Henry afterwards chose as his minister out of the very camp of the League. Even Charles of Mayenne began to listen to these considerations.

At Arques, 1589, and Ivry, 1590, Henry had obtained his first military successes over superior powers. But they had not helped him forward. On the 30th of August, 1590, he was obliged to raise the siege of Paris. The capital remained under the dominion of a mob, excited to madness by fanatical priests and unscrupulous demagogues; the greater part of his army, which he had with difficulty supported, escaped from him; the most important cities were in the hands of the enemy; the country was exhausted; and while the adversary received large sums from Spain, the small subsidies which he had received from England, Holland, and the little princes of Germany, were scarcely sufficient for the most necessary expenditure.

The dissensions which raged in the enemy's camp gave him time to breathe.

The attitude of the raging sect of the Sixteen in Paris soon amounted to open treason against the country. They already subscribed themselves to King Philip as "his Majesty's obedient servants;" but their terrorism became

so fearful, that Mayenne himself had, at the end of 1591, to interfere with his military authority.

The King now received the first message from Mayenne, offering to come to terms on certain conditions. These could not be acceded to ; but the attempt showed that the last of the Guises had had enough of the reign of madness in Paris, and the superciliousness of Spain had begun to make him anxious. The more wildly the terrorists behaved, the bolder was Philip with his projects. Individual defections followed ; after 1591-2 one and another nobleman joined the King's cause ; but with these isolated conquests it ended. All assured him that it had cost them great sacrifices, and the rest were not strong enough to make them so long as the King remained a heretic. The Diet, which met at Paris in January, 1593, and which the national Catholic party under Mayenne, and the Spanish party, hoped to turn to good account, led to nothing ; or rather, the supercilious attitude of Feria, the Spanish ambassador, hastened the breach between Mayenne and Philip, and confirmed the idea of entering into fresh negotiations.

These negotiations, which took place in April and May between the royalist and national Catholic party, convinced Henry that without becoming a Catholic he could not be King of France. He therefore gave the first definite promise on the subject.

Meanwhile, the negotiations between the Spanish commissioners and the Diet were openly carried on. Mayenne tried in vain to intrigue for himself ; the Spaniards went abruptly to work at their purposes, tried to bring about the speedy election of a sovereign at any price, whether it were Philip, his daughter, or a prince of the house of Hapsburg. But the bolder they were, the stronger was the national disinclination to the Spaniards.

In July, 1593, Henry went over to Catholicism, and this upset all the machinations of the enemy.

The priests and the Papal Legate in vain declared that his conversion was a lie. Henry's adherents increased from day to day ; the defection even reached the ranks of the zealous Leaguists ; and when, in March, 1594, Henry surprised Paris, the power of the League was broken. In the course of the year, one city after another opened its gates to him ; the Catholic nobility did homage to him in a mass, and among them even Mayenne, Henry of Guise, Nevers, &c.

It was under these circumstances that the son of Jeanne d'Albret took a step which she would never have forgiven him.

It is not easy to excuse a man who changes his religion for external reasons ; he can never be regarded as a model of strength of character who, for the sake of a crown, changes his creed like a garment. But it is certain that the crown was not to be had at any other price, that Henry had not the spirit of a martyr, and that his change of religion saved France from falling into an abyss.

It was not a time when a monarch whose creed was that of a minority could rule the land. Who can say how it would be to-day if a Calvinist tried to govern France ! Few will say that it would be practicable even in our enlightened days, and no one that it was so in the sixteenth century. A frightful fratricidal war had been raging for thirty years, in which difference of creed caused men not to shrink from the most cruel murders. In such a state of things there is no standpoint for a ruler so elevated that he can afford to overlook the creed of the majority, and ascend the throne as the representative of the minority. As a Huguenot, Henry could neither rule France then, nor ever.

As a Catholic, three attempts to assassinate him had failed—the fourth succeeded, because the Catholic fanatics, the Jesuits, always regarded him as a secret heretic and an outlaw. What could he expect if he remained an avowed heretic?

There can be no doubt how a man whose convictions were all in all to him, ought to and would have acted; but such an one must not hanker after earthly crowns: he must remain within his sanctuary until his last breath. But Henry was not made for a martyr to his religious convictions; the lightness with which he regarded such things was connected with some noble qualities in which most of the uncompromising Huguenots were wanting. The magnanimous toleration which a monarch in such circumstances must consider as one of his most sacred duties, and which Henry IV. really did practise, belonged to them as little as to their adversaries. Even though it may be looked upon as frivolity, it will not be disputed that it was an unspeakable benefit to France, and saved her from an ignominious foreign rule and endless sanguinary convulsions.

There was no other means of securing to France the peace which she so urgently needed, if she was not to be torn in pieces; and this Henry clearly saw. It was not mere idle ambition—not the idea that, clothed in the purple, he could dispense with religion—but the consciousness of his mission to give the peace to France which all his predecessors had denied her. This appeared to him as his vocation. Before fortune had smiled upon him, he declared it to be his best title; and the reasonable critic must take this into account.

Thus, in the summer of 1593, as the Catholic party were unyielding, he resolved to take the step which he had hitherto declined.

His motives were certainly entirely political ; and those who attempted his life were not altogether wrong in saying that he was secretly a heretic. Only priestly absurdity could expect him to give up affection for his old party, and devotion to their cause. But if steps like these are judged by their results, no greater triumph than this can be imagined.

When he went over to Catholicism, the opposing party was broken up—France was conquered. It was now not only isolated renegade Catholic noblemen who came to him, not concealing how difficult the step was, but the whole nation : the cities, the leaders of the native aristocracy came also, and in a frame of mind which showed how joyfully they submitted to a king who was not the mortal enemy of their Church. During the following spring the capital was occupied almost in sport ; Paris submitted to him almost without a blow.

How was it now with the Huguenots ? They were his army and his party. Now that he had forsaken them, did they not also forsake him ?

It is a striking testimony to the commanding character of the man, and his power of attracting men to himself, that this was not the case. There was indeed some vacillation ; the party was discontented, and complained openly and secretly that the cause for which so much blood had been shed was lost. But none of them deserted him ; he was still their Henry of Navarre, who had fought with them for twenty years ; it was among them that he had grown up into a knight without fear and without reproach ; he had shared with them distress, privation, danger, and victory ; they could trust him as they could trust themselves when he said that he would be a King for Catholics and Protestants alike.

GOVERNMENT OF HENRY IV., 1594-1610.

The kingdom which Henry IV. now entered upon was in a state which it is difficult to describe ; the task of closing the chasm which had been yawning in this country for a generation demanded unusual powers.

The diminution of population was reckoned, even in 1580, at 700,000 men, and since that time at double that number ; the loss was of those in the prime of life, and was only equalled in the Napoleon wars. There was no longer anything like order, morality, or security ; there was poverty and devastation everywhere, and most of all in the country ; there was no longer any trace of taxation, law, order, or government ; a wild banditti life, the scourge of such times, flourished for years upon every highway ; and what sort of seed had been sown in the minds of the educated classes, by the civil war, was shown by the attempts to assassinate the King, which were avowedly the result of Jesuitical intrigues. The efficiency of the new government was shown by a variety of rapid results ; if the civil war was calculated to dissolve all the elements of political life, its bleeding wounds were now healed in an incredibly short time.

The first thing was to restore peace with foreign powers, and to settle accounts with Spain.

War was declared with her in January, 1595. It was inevitable, partly for honour's sake, partly because Spain still occupied large portions of the country, and the contumacious nobles were supported by the Spanish troops. When the superiority of Spain as a military power is considered, and the exhaustion of France, it must be allowed that Henry, who depended upon aid from England and the Netherlands, carried on the war pretty successfully. It was

Philip's last war, and the result was the same as in all the others—he had to renounce all of which he thought himself secure, and, after enormous sacrifices, to acknowledge that his enemy was victor. The Peace, after he had been beaten at all points, put the seal upon Philip's reign ; he had lived in vain.

The Peace of Vervins, 2nd of May, 1598, confirmed that of Cateau Cambrasis : both parties gave up their conquests, and France regained those made by the Duke of Savoy. Peace was also made with the Pope.

Rome had, not without some shame, to retrace all the disgraceful steps which she had publicly taken. Any further explanation than that the King had returned to the Catholic Church was refused ; he could not even be prevented from promising to acknowledge both religions.

No French king had ever yet settled matters with Rome like the converted heretic whom Rome had repeatedly declared to be for ever disqualified from reigning.

France was at length freed from the foreign troops and foreign intrigues by which she had been tormented ever since 1562 ; the foundations were laid of an orderly internal administration.

The most important step in this direction was the Edict of Nantes, by which Henry made peace with the Huguenots. This law granted greater toleration than any other in the sixteenth century. It conceded too much rather than too little, not of religious liberty, but of political privilege. Not that the Huguenots abused it, but it was a reproach to them ; it gave a handle to the assertion that they formed a State within the State, were an obstacle to complete national unity ; and it was this point in the Edict which was afterwards attacked.

During the last few years, the Reformers, who could not

forget the King's defection, and thought that all their sacrifices were repaid with ingratitude, had been perpetually plying him with their grievances; various negotiations were entered into, until at last, on 13th of April, 1598, the celebrated Edict was signed at Nantes, in the secret articles of which, as well as in the Brevets, their religious and civil position was defined.*

In religion, liberty of conscience was granted them. All nobles possessing superior jurisdiction were allowed to teach Calvinism, and every one might share their teaching. Nobles without this jurisdiction were granted the same privilege, and might admit a number of persons to their services, unless they lived in places where the jurisdiction belonged to Catholic nobles. In all towns and villages where Calvinistic service had been held up to August, 1797, it was permitted to be continued or restored. For all those whose dwellings were scattered, a place was appointed in a suburb or village where service might be held. Paris and a number of other cities were excepted; no Reformed service was allowed in them. In other places they were permitted to possess church bells, schools, &c., but the Catholic religion was supreme; the Reformers had to observe the fête days, and pay tithes to the Catholic clergy. But they might levy a church tax upon themselves to defray their own expenses, and receive an annual stipend of 45,000 dollars.

As to civil rights, the obligations and privileges of the Protestants were the same as those of the Catholics, and they had equal claims to imperial offices and dignities. There was a Court of Justice in Paris (*Chambre de l'Edit*), for Normandy and Brittany; at Castres, for the district of Toulouse; at Bordeaux and Grenoble, *Chambres mi-parties*,

* Weber, *Geschichte des Calvinismus*.

before which Protestants from Provence and Burgundy were summoned. There was also an inferior tribunal for recusancy ; the previous unjust sentences were reversed, the exiles recalled. They were to retain for eight years all the fortresses which had belonged to them before 1597, with all their military stores. They either had their own governors and administration like La Rochelle, Montauban, and Nismes, or were garrisoned, and the governors appointed by the Reformers.

This was a well-meant provision ; for eight years at least the Huguenots were secure against reverses. If the King was murdered, there was a pledge that they would still be tolerated. But this state of things continued beyond the appointed time ; it was, in fact, recognised as a perpetual right, and whatever may be thought of the principle, it was in the highest degree inimical to the tendency of the French nation to absolute unity and uniformity.

Richelieu afterwards reaped the consequences of this danger. With all this, a wise and energetic administration went hand in hand, the soul of which was Sully, Maximilian de Bethune, Marquis de Rosny.

A Huguenot nobleman, knocked about and hardened from his youth upwards in the wars of religion ; a genuine Calvinist, harsh, unapproachable, incorruptible, stiff and obstinate ; like Henry himself, a brave cavalier, but unlike him in his conscientiousness, and the puritanical strictness of his character, he was a type of the Genevan school, as it was found among the best of the French nobility.

His relations with the State and the King were those of a proud landed noble, who regarded himself as the ruler of his own domain. According to his ideas he conferred an honour on the State by serving it, and he did not serve it for gain. When he was once guilty of a breach of dis-

cipline, he defiantly addressed the King with the words, "I am neither your subject nor your vassal ;" and he wrote to Mary of Medici, that he did not court office ; France might be proud to have him for minister.

Distinguished as a soldier, statesman, and financier, he knew how to rule the State as well as his own house. He undertook the office of Minister of the Interior, of Justice, War, and Finance.

France has had administrations which were as able as that of Sully, but none so independent and irreproachable.

It was necessary to undertake a reorganization on a large scale ; a new administration, from the lowest step upwards. It was for this reason that he kept a number of ministerial offices in his own hands ; with the exception of foreign affairs, he was chief of all the departments. From the laying out of new roads, and establishing security of intercourse in town and country, to the highest questions of administration and finance, the State had to be reconstructed and reformed, and Sully accomplished it all with the strict conscientiousness and untiring energy which were peculiar to him.

There were really no revenues. Enormous taxes, which were an oppressive burden almost up to the time of the revolution, were already the scourge of France ; they were ruinous, yet brought no money to the State, for it was all swallowed up in bad administration. All that the State had power over, had gone to ruin ; the crown lands were recklessly given away, or sold for ridiculous prices ; patents of nobility were already sold, immunity from taxes and other important privileges were connected with them, though they were sold so cheap. By this means the number of taxpayers was so decreased as to bring France to the verge of bankruptcy.

The finances were in indescribable confusion. The debt of France was enormous ; Sully reckoned it at 345,000,000 livres, which, taking into account the relative value of money and the revenues of the State, was more than it has ever been since. It did not appear how even the interest of this sum was to be obtained. The administration was as reckless as it was possible for it to be. The names of those to whom no crown lands could be given were inscribed in the great debtors' book of France ; they became the creditors of the State, the State their debtors.

It was impossible to help France but by severe measures, which were inimical to many personal interests. These could only be adopted by a man, the purity of whose character disarmed calumny, who had never been suspected of enriching himself at the expense of the State and its usufructuaries.

Sully could venture to plunge into the chaos of these finances, to lessen the burden of debt by searching into the legal claims of the creditors and mercilessly setting aside all that were illegal. He put a stop to the squandering of crown lands, demanded the restoration of those that had been illegally appropriated, revised the patents of nobility and partially abolished them, and reformed the worst abuses of the system of tax-farming.

Many individuals suffered severely, but, on the whole, what was necessary was also just. Nine possessors of crown lands out of ten had no right to them ; nine out of ten had long ago been compensated for the price paid for their patents of nobility, and were now in the comfortable enjoyment of rich, undeserved revenues.

In this manner Sully again created a treasury by regaining the crown lands ; he diminished the debts and privileges to a surprising extent, and restored things to the state

in which they were before the time of the last of the Valois.

A frightful abuse had crept into the Government itself. Francis I. had foolishly increased the evil which prevailed during the ancient monarchy, of causing a rapid accession of income by the sale of public offices; the evil was great enough of itself, and, as it was now carried on, it made a reasonable and just administration simply impossible. Offices became private property, the tenure of them a benefice, the officials themselves a caste with whom no one could interfere, and over whom there was no control. New places were always being created, because money was raised by it, so that a superfluity of offices arose which became a permanent burden on the people, and diminished the prosperity of the nation to two or three times the extent of the advantage.

Sully abolished a number of these places; it was a severe blow to many, but, on the whole, nothing was lost by it but the enjoyment of a great abuse.

All this occupied but a decade. It would only have been possible to a man like Sully, who could daily remind the King and country, in his proud, harsh manner, that it was he who was making the greatest sacrifices for the State, and that if he laid down his office that very day, the State would have more to complain of than he. When he afterwards found difficulties under the regency, he really did throw his portfolio at the feet of the Queen.

An administration like this is rare anywhere, but especially in France, where the idea early arose of looking upon the State as a provision for the nobles, clergy, and officials.

Henry's relation with Sully is one of the great traits of his character. He quite agreed in the leading ideas of

Sully's policy ; even adopted the rigid economy urged by his minister, which was so little in accordance with his taste, and he must often have heard himself blamed as miserly. Differences, however, were often apparent enough in the carrying out of his projects. Henry would not always yield to the rigid moralist, and we now and then see an attempt by the court to thwart his purposes, but when it came to a contest, Sully always prevailed.

France now began to flourish greatly.

Sully was not only the "Minister of Agriculture," whose only idea was the cultivation of the soil, he considered this branch of industry in its connection with the State, and was the first who expressed the idea that if agriculture was to have its rights, of which it was deprived till the revolution, and only obtained by its means, the notorious land tax must be abolished. The first rational encouragement of trade also dates from his labours, and of those branches of industry, such as silk culture, which afterwards flourished for centuries in France. When the time for the great progress of commerce and navigation came, the man also appeared who built upon the foundations so successfully laid by Sully.

The State now again possessed the elements necessary to internal and external prosperity : funds, a regular income, crown lands, law and justice, trade, commerce, work, and intercourse. The condition of the masses was better than it had been since the times of Francis I. Civil war had ceased ; lasting peace was secured between the creeds ; peace was made with Spain and Rome on honourable terms ; every branch of peaceful industry flourished with an energy proportionate to the time during which it had been deprived of protection and security.

Such a government, continued from ten to twenty years,

would have created a power for France such as she afterwards attained under Louis XIV., for even now no other ancient monarchy of the Continent, not even Spain nor Austria, could compete with her. But fate had decreed otherwise. Henry IV. and Sully were called away before their time; the former in the prime of manhood, the latter not long after him. Instead of a vigorous pursuance of the paths that had been entered upon, came all the weaknesses of a feminine regency; still, the previous government was not without result.

The threads of it were taken up by Richelieu, and he carried the formation of the absolute monarchy, begun by Sully, to the acme of its greatness.

As a Calvinist, Sully was not an adherent of this form of government, but circumstances made such a dictatorship inevitable. At first, notables and commissions were assembled, but such a chaos arose that it was a decided advantage when the dictatorship prevailed without taking account of individual opinion. Under Henry IV., States and notables gradually disappear.

The tendency of Henry's foreign policy was sharply defined. Various elements and opinions were found among his ministry. Besides Sully, there was Villeroi, who struggled for the party of the League to the last, and, with the rest of his party, maintained the opinion that France must enter into a Catholic alliance with Spain and Rome to ward off innovations. Henry and Sully, on the contrary, were decidedly for a great Protestant League, not because, as the Jesuits said, he was still a Huguenot at heart, but because he felt himself so completely the King of France.

Shortly before his fall, Coligny had advised Charles IX. to reconcile parties, and, with the united power of both, to inaugurate a national policy against Spain and the Haps-

burgs. It was with this idea that the Huguenot had entered upon the inheritance of Francis I. It certainly was a national policy, and was followed up by Richelieu and Louis XIV., the Revolution and Napoleon I. The realisation of the "Christian European Republic" of Henry IV. would have made France, consolidated within her natural boundaries, the centre of European politics.

Richelieu did afterwards realise this, and he was not a converted Huguenot, but a cardinal of the Romish Church. He used the Protestant alliance as a lever to extend the boundaries of France, and this was precisely what was intended by Henry IV. when he entered into alliance with England and the Netherlands, the sworn enemies of Spain. These were allies who would not oppose him if he seized upon the duchy of Lorraine, and other valuable border lands. It appears to me that this was as truly a French policy as any other, and yet nothing excited so much enmity against him as this.

The negotiations and good understanding with the Reformers in the Palatinate, Hesse, England, and the Netherlands, the obvious scheme of isolating and then destroying the house of Hapsburg, the stronghold of the ancient faith, appeared to the Catholic zealots to be a convincing proof that Henry was still secretly a heretic; although he went to mass, and performed other external acts, still he must be at heart the enemy of their faith, for he was the enemy of both its bulwarks, Spain and Austria.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, things had taken such a course in Germany that a most favourable opportunity presented itself for an energetic policy, with command of men and money, for making conquests on the eastern frontier of France.

The intestine quarrels which were raging there were very

favourable to foreign interference. The dispute about the succession in Juliers-Cleves furnished an excellent pretext for it, and Henry intended to take advantage of it to protect the right in Germany and to oppose the supremacy of the Hapsburgs. As things were, in 1609-10 the great conflagration seemed to be smouldering which afterwards broke out. Henry was preparing to crush the power of Spain and the Hapsburgs, when, just as he was about to join the army, he was struck by Ravaillac's fatal blow, on the 14th of May, 1610.

So far as we know, the assassin was an isolated fanatic, who, like many others, believed that Henry was still a heretic.

Much has been brought forward to prove that a deeply-laid plot existed; and it is remarkable that a report had been spread abroad in the world that Henry would die a violent death.

That they triumphed over the heretic's death at Rome and Madrid, only proves how low the political conscience there had sunk, not that they were in league with the assassin. The immediate consequences of the murder were most disastrous. It threw France back into confusion and convulsions for fifteen years, and lamed the arm of her foreign policy for half a lifetime, and until Richelieu gained a firm footing. But when this was over, the beginning made by Henry IV. was continued and completed. The murder effected nothing but delay.

PART VII.

THE GERMAN EMPIRE, FROM THE PEACE OF AUGSBURG TO THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR, 1555-1618.

CHAPTER XXX.

GENERAL SITUATION OF GERMANY* AFTER 1555.

Impotence of the Empire.—Continuance of the Contest of the Creeds.

GERMANY, of all the nations of the Continent, had passed through, most thoroughly, from its very beginning, that great mental, moral, vital process which we call the Reformation.

The breach with the ancient Church, in other lands the work of monarchical ambition and political calculation, was in Germany the act of the nation itself, and an act so decisive that even some of its adversaries were carried along with it, and Charles V. had to strike sail before it. The great political calculator learnt what he did not know before—the power in history of the moral idea, which is

* Besides the before-mentioned literature: Londorp, *Continuatio Sleidani*. Francof. 1619. Schard, *Epitome rer-gest.* in dessen op. hist. Buchholz, *Geschichte Ferdinands I.* Vienna, 1835. Anton, *Geschichte der Concordienformel*. 1779. Hurter, *Ferd. II.*, 1854-59. Hammer v. Klesel's *Leben*. 1851. Kluckhohn, *Briefwechsel des Kurfürsten Friedrichs III. des Frommen, von der Pfalz. I.* 1559-66-67.

shown by the fact that even the greatest minds cannot set it at defiance. A far greater than he made the experiment once again, and was crushed in the attempt. The weakest man in the ranks of a party, for whose cause he is ready to die, has more weight than all these realistic great ones, who accomplish nothing, because they believe in nothing.

The Reformation did not deprive Germany of its unity. We had, even then, none to lose ; but that an opportunity was lost, never to recur, of securing national unity with the reform of the Church, was the fault of those who perhaps might have secured it, but did not comprehend the situation, and wearied themselves in fruitless struggles against the spirit of the age.

With the deep rent which took place in the nation, in consequence of the imperial attitude, a time of increasing national misery begins ; but it was also a time of quiet preparation for those soaring mental flights upon which the pride of our modern culture rests, and which could not be attained at a lower price.

The nations which have not passed through this process of inward renovation, or which have been brought through it by force, have to lament it to this day ; it almost seems as if some were for ever lamed by it.

The religious Peace of 1555 had at length given German Lutheranism a legal existence, but it had not created a lasting peace ; indeed, it gave rise to almost as many new feuds as it healed old ones. The victory of the principalities over the imperial power was far more decisive, for, after Charles's last unsuccessful onslaught, it was completely subdued. The empire was more than ever destitute of an uniting centre, which was all the more unfortunate because, though it could not be said that things were much changed in Germany, they were all the more changed abroad.

78 THE GERMAN EMPIRE FROM 1555 TO 1618.

The constitution of the German empire, or rather the union of States in Germany, whose relations it controlled, had long before, in fact, lost its monarchical unity, and yet the imperial territory had not experienced great or important losses in the course of the last century, for the neighbouring States were not in a position to extend themselves at its expense. It was this circumstance which saved Germany from great losses during the dismal period of the interregnum, and from Rudolph I. to Maximilian I., otherwise I know not what there was under Wenceslaus or Frederic III. to prevent the neighbours from plundering Germany.

But now all this was changed. If up to the time of the Reformation Germany had been surrounded by weak nations, now several powerful States were on her frontiers. A strong monarchical power had arisen in the Scandinavian States; the same had begun to arise in France under Francis I., and, after thirty years of confusion, was completed under Henry IV. On the north and west the situation of Germany was different from what it had been for centuries. No one had before imagined that Denmark or Sweden could be dangerous to the German countries on the Baltic, or that France might possess herself of the Western provinces. But all these dangers were now at hand, and the neighbours' temptation was great in proportion as Germany's power of resistance was small.

It was now that the first great losses of German territory occurred. Much of the kingdom of Arrelate had been lost before; but these were possessions which it was difficult to maintain. Now, however, important territories, Curland, Livonia, and Esthonia, were first lost, and the Burgundian provinces estranged. When Spain began the war against the religious and political liberties of the Netherlands, the

empire was not in a position to enforce its old claims. How often did the Netherlands pray that the ancient imperial power might be asserted ! how earnestly did the Orange party pray for protection against Spain ! But the German Hapsburgs approved the policy of their Spanish relatives, and the German empire was thinking of nothing but the conversion of the heretics. All great political questions were obscured by those relating to religious creeds ; the loss of the countries on the Baltic, of the Netherlands, even of the three bishoprics of Lorraine, occupied very little of the attention of the Diet. The disputes about the interpretation of the Peace of Augsburg, and the ecclesiastical reserves, took up nearly the whole of its time.

To these symptoms of increasing external weakness were added numerous causes of endless internal disputes which immediately conduced to the catastrophe.

The Peace of 1555 was incomplete. It contained dubious and obscure clauses enough ; and had there been fewer, that peaceable, conciliatory spirit was wanting on both sides without which no union could be effectual. The Peace granted toleration to the adherents of the Augsburg Confession only, not to the other Reformers ; and yet the number of them was considerable. It gave rulers, but not subjects, a claim to toleration, which was the occasion of great difficulties, and the great question about benefices and dignities, and the subjects of converted ecclesiastics, was treated in a clause of secondary legal authority.

During the time when both parties should have been accommodating themselves to this imperfect Peace, occurred the restoration of the Catholic Church, the Council of Trent, the establishment of the order of Jesuits, the restoration of the Inquisition, and the censorship of the press.

The party which was defeated at Passau and Augsburg saw a powerful support growing up for it on the other side of the Alps, and thus that which might have made the situation tolerable, the honest desire to agree as well as might be, was wanting. Neither party had given up the idea of upsetting the peace : the Protestants, of throwing overboard the ecclesiastical restrictions and the principle of exclusion ; the Catholics, of tearing up the whole treaty, in order to bring about a complete restoration.

During the third and fourth decades there had been no idea of any such schemes ; but now courage for them was restored. Popes like Paul IV., kings like Philip II., openly said that heresy must be extirpated from the face of the earth, and the unity of the Church in the old mediæval sense restored. Very little more is required to stir up a religious war than the fact that both parties chafe against union ; all that is wanted is a spark to ignite the flame. This idea gave rise to the singular proposition of 1648, that both parties were bound not to regard the peace with disfavour, lest they should experience another fearful civil war. It was the fault of both parties that the peace did not last.

An undisturbed peace was hardly to be looked for ; the odious conflict was still too fresh in the remembrance of both parties ; the idea of toleration, of the peaceful existence of differing creeds side by side, was essentially foreign to the age ; it did not even exist among the new sects for each other ; the passions evoked by the long strife were too fierce ; each side was too firmly convinced that it was its mission to convert the other ; the Catholics were too much engrossed with the idea of the supremacy of their Church, the adherents of the new doctrines too much possessed with that zeal for conversion which belongs to young creeds,

for any opinion to gain ground that it was better to have an imperfect peace than open war.

Thus both parties vied with each other in preventing men's minds from settling down, partly because the irritation of the barely reconciled dissensions was still too great, partly because actual interests suffered in this perpetual state of warfare, and the provisions of the treaty were not sufficient to solve complicated questions. The Protestants, split up into different churches and sects, could not proclaim this with so much emphasis as Roman Catholicism, as it was restored at Trent, whose apostles, the Jesuits, openly preached a crusade against the heretics; but the Protestants had as little conciliatory resignation as their adversaries.

Wars of religion were blazing up around Germany, and sparks flew over and ignited the smouldering flame. In France the conflict was raging between the Guises and the Huguenots; in the Netherlands the Protestants were struggling with Alba and his successors. German princes were in connection with both camps. Similar events afterwards took place in England; a reaction on the position of both parties in Germany was inevitable.

To add to this, it happened that during the sixth and seventh decades of the century the conflict of the two great floods, Reformation and Restoration, the Confession of Augsburg and the dogmas of Trent, found a theatre upon German soil. Until then Protestantism was in the ascendant, inasmuch as it had done what the Catholic Church had so long neglected to do: it had, with surprising success, possessed itself of the whole of intellectual life, of literature, of the modern Humanistic culture, and of education. The most distinguished names in every branch of learning and authorship were Protestant in greatly preponderating

82 THE GERMAN EMPIRE FROM 1555 TO 1618.

numbers, and their public was almost the whole intellectual aristocracy of the nation.

After the sixth and seventh decades a sort of reaction took place. Jesuitism, in accordance with its principles, began to employ modern weapons in a manner totally different from the monastic orders, who at last were ignorant of the world and of learning.

Jesuitism was not wanting in talent, learning, or skilful dialectics, and, thus equipped, it appeared upon the arena to defeat the adversary with its own weapons.

This contest was the prelude to the Thirty Years' War.

CHAPTER XXXI.

PROTESTANTISM IN AUSTRIA.

Ferdinand I., 1558-64. — Maximilian II., 1564-76. — Rudolph II., 1576-1612. — The Bohemian Royal Charter (*Majestätsbrief*), 1609. — Duke Maximilian of Bavaria and the Imperial City of Donauwörth, 1606-7. — The Protestant Union, 1608, and the Catholic League, 1609. — Matthias, 1612-19.

FERDINAND I., 1558-64.—MAXIMILIAN II., 1564-76.—
RUDOLPH II., 1576-1612.

MEANWHILE a country had been attacked by Protestantism which had hitherto been free from it—the hereditary Austrian dominions—and within a short period it was embraced by a great majority of the inhabitants.

It came to pass in this way:—Since the time of Ferdinand I., the determined and energetic opposition to Protestantism had been discontinued. Deeply affected, as may be imagined, by the fate of his brother, Ferdinand began to entertain doubts of the wisdom of the attitude he had hitherto assumed. Formerly one of the hotspurs in persecuting the heretics, he had now almost broken with Rome, and expressed himself more emphatically than any of the German princes against the introduction of the decrees of the Council of Trent. The misunderstanding with Rome made him more lenient towards the heretics, the decided

84 THE GERMAN EMPIRE FROM 1555 TO 1618.

exclusion of the new doctrines from the country ceased, and so Protestantism began to make its way into Austria, and to unite itself with all the elements, national and political, of this diversified empire.

He was succeeded in 1564 by Maximilian II., elected King of Rome in 1562, who, in fact, was above party spirit, disapproved of the abuses of the ancient Church, and considered the divisions of the Protestants about trifles highly absurd. He equally disapproved of the intolerance of both parties, and was therefore looked upon by the Protestants as a Jesuit, by the Catholics as a secret heretic.

It was unfortunate for him that he lived at a time when there was no appreciation of his tolerant spirit and lofty views. His proceedings in Austria showed that he earnestly desired toleration ; he allowed the landowning nobility to permit the preaching of both the new and old doctrines on their estates.

This was the first breach with the old system in Austria, a toleration of both forms. The Emperor's idea seemed to be, Fight out your quarrel with each other ; both shall have light and space. For the planting of Protestantism it was really a great step. Between 1564 and 1576 the new doctrines spread over nearly the whole of Austria, not only in the great cities, but also in the country. Catholicism was renounced by the peasantry, and the German nobles, almost without exception, had embraced Protestantism. We know, from his own expressions, that in Styria Ferdinand II. celebrated the communion according to Catholic usage with but few others, and that in Grätz and the neighbourhood Protestantism was quite in the majority. In Bohemia it was based on old Hussite memories. Bohemian historians have told us how all forms of non-Catholicism were spread in Bohemia and Moravia. The Tyrol alone re-

mained the unassailed fortress of Catholicism; the small number of towns, the want of contact with the outer world, the predominating peasant character of the population, with but few nobles or superior clergy, its being surrounded with ecclesiastical principalities, caused the Tyrol to remain almost exclusively true to the old faith.

Rudolph II.* was entirely unlike the previous Hapsburgs. Brought up in Spain, and endowed with a strong tendency to the Spanish melancholy, which from this time ran in the blood of a part of the house of Hapsburg, and in his case, after 1600, led to attacks of real mental disease, he became the tool of women and Jesuits. His character was an unhappy mixture of self-will, passion, weakness, sensuality, and, when his rage was spent, abject subjection to others. He was incapable of doing any lasting good, and was just the man to occasion unspeakable confusion.

Under him, the Jesuits, who had hitherto been only tolerated, came into power. They got possession of his ear and conscience, were his confessors, directors, and ministers.

During the greater part of his life Rudolph lived in retirement at Prague, mostly occupied with learned fancies. Now and then breaking out into unbridled excesses, then repenting like a child, and submitting to his Jesuit confessors; one day interfering with tyrannical temper, the next broken-spirited, dejected, and apathetic; his was a character well adapted to set a ferment going which should shake the empire to its depths. At first Protestantism made all the more progress during these contradictory tactics.

The Emperor's incompetence to rule soon led to real difficulties, which the States could only get over by formally

* Gindely, Rudolph II. Also his *Geschichte des Böhmischen Majestätsbriefes*." 1858.

entrusting the guidance of business to Matthias, Rudolph's brother, in April, 1606. To secure some support against the Emperor's revenge, the Regent felt himself obliged to make great concessions to the Austrian Protestants, and especially to grant liberty of religious worship to the burgher class.

This example spread. Even under the clement Maximilian the Bohemians had only enjoyed limited religious liberty. They now extorted from the weak Emperor the most liberal religious edict issued in the seventeenth century. This was the Bohemian Royal Charter (*Majestätsbrief*) of 11th July, 1609, which contained the following regulations :—

All adherents, *without exception*, of the Confession delivered to the Emperor Maximilian in 1575, the associated States, lords, nobles, the city of Prague, the mining and other towns, are granted complete liberty in the exercise of their religion in every place ; they will not be interfered with in their faith, religion, priesthood, or Church order, until there is an entirely uniform religion in the Holy Empire. The government of the Protestant churches is to be in the hands of a special consistory at Prague ; they are to be protected by their own advocates, to be nominated by the Protestants, as are also the officers in the universities ; the appointments are merely to be confirmed by the Emperor, but no instructions are to be received from him. The erection of new churches and schools is freely permitted to every Protestant community in town and country, as well as to every one in the States. No one, not even the Emperor, has any right to interfere with these liberties ; any proceedings against them are null and void. Disputes are to be adjusted by a court of umpires, composed of parties from both sides, not of imperial officials.

In the following month a similar charter was granted to

the Silesians, only that it was still more expressly stated that all and every inhabitant of the country, whether the subjects of temporal or spiritual rulers, should have free permission to enjoy their own religious worship.

The effect produced by the religious strife in a diversified imperial body was different from what it would have been in the simple relations of a national State. There was very little feeling of a united Austrian existence in the separate dependencies; the misgovernment of Rudolph II. was not calculated to produce it, and the religious discord re-awakened the slumbering national and political differences. In Bohemia the idea was never far distant of again electing a sovereign for itself; in Moravia and Silesia tendencies to separation were becoming evident. Hungary also was uneasy; even in the German hereditary dominions the Hapsburg dynasty never enjoyed so little popularity as during the last quarter of a century; the monarchy was altogether out of joint, and was threatened with dissolution.

Meanwhile parties had become more sharply opposed to each other. The race of the more clement German princes had died out; the sectarian spirit in both camps had greatly increased and had inflamed men's passions. The Jesuits had made two great conquests in Ferdinand of Styria and Maximilian of Bavaria, and this hastened the crisis.

But little more than the existing hatred and discontent was required to bring about a sanguinary conflict, and during the early years of the seventeenth century the cause was to arise in Germany as well as in the Austrian hereditary States.

88 THE GERMAN EMPIRE FROM 1555 TO 1618.

DUKE MAXIMILIAN OF BAVARIA AND THE IMPERIAL CITY OF DONAUWÖRTH,* 1606-7.—THE UNION, 1608, AND THE LEAGUE, 1609.—DEATH OF RUDOLPH II.—MATTHIAS, 1612-19.

Among the numerous infringements of the Peace of Augsburg, the most dangerous and malicious was that which occurred in the imperial city of Donauwörth in 1606-7.

Donauwörth was a Lutheran imperial city, in which, after the end of the sixteenth century, no Roman Catholic was admitted as a citizen. It had a Catholic monastery, which was tolerated on the express condition that no procession with banners should be allowed within the city.

The abbot and his monks found this inconvenient, and disobeyed the order several times. The council warned them in vain, and when, in April, 1606, a solemn procession with banners again proceeded through the city, the rabble fell upon them with clubs and drove them back into the monastery.

Many scenes of this sort had happened in the empire, and some more glaring than this, but they resulted in nothing but a vast amount of scribbling, quarrelling, and complaining. But this time it was otherwise.

Duke Maximilian of Bavaria interfered in the matter, first on his own account, and then armed with an imperial execution. He was a fanatical pupil of the Jesuits, who at the beginning of his reign had taken vigorous proceedings against the heretics, and the Lutheran city had long been a thorn in his side. As his first interference produced no

* Lossen, *Die Reichstadt Donauwörth und Herzog Maximilian*. Munich, 1866. Cornelius, *Zur Geschichte der Gründung der Liga*. *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 1865. Ritter, *Geschichte der Union*, 1868.

effect, he turned to the imperial court of Prague, where, according to credible testimony, everything was to be done with money ; even the tardy imperial justice overcome.

With astonishing rapidity, in August, 1607, an imperial mandate of execution appeared, which Duke Maximilian was empowered to enforce.

With an army outnumbering the population of the city by two thousand, he feared intervention from the Protestant States, especially from the Elector Palatine—he advanced to the city, took it without a blow, and began, with those means so dear to religious reaction, to convert it to Catholicism. At first all that they desired was a place where the Catholic officials and soldiers might attend service ; then to possess half the churches, then all of them, and when that was refused they quartered soldiers on the faithful inhabitants until they should be convinced of the truth of the Romish faith.

The blow struck by the Duke against the imperial Swabian city in the midst of peace, made an immense sensation. It was illegal to proceed with the execution of the imperial ban, for the electors had not been consulted ; and it was an open offence to the Protestant States to commit it to a prince who did not belong to Swabia, to say nothing of the military importance of the city as a pass of the Danube and a frontier town between Swabia, Bavaria, and Franconia.

The Protestant States of South Germany, the Electoral Palatinate, Würtemberg and Neuburg at their head, agreed to maintain a united attitude at the next Diet. There it came to a violent dispute and complete division. Duke Maximilian revealed continually more openly that he cared less about the affair at Donauwörth as a victory of the good cause, than as a conquest of the country and people. The

violent acts of Ferdinand against the Protestants in Styria did all they could to increase the excitement ; so on May 4th, 1608, a union of a number of Protestant princes took place for mutual protection against further infringements of the constitution.

The first to sign it were Frederic, Elector of the Palatinate ; Philip Louis, Count Palatine of Neuburg ; the Margraves Christian of Culmbach, Joachim of Anspach, John Frederic of Baden-Durlach, and John Frederic, Duke of Württemberg. Only a part of the Protestant princes joined in it, and therein lay a foolish and fatal error. Not that grounds of complaint or incitements to opposition measures were wanting ; but they should have thought twice whether it would not further the breach of the peace if their camp were openly divided into two parties, and they should not have formed a league which was, as it were, still-born—for so it was, since all Protestants did not join in it. Because the Electoral Palatinate was at the head, Saxony held aloof and stirred up enmity against it ; even those who did join in it were not all agreed.

The answer to this was the Catholic League of July 10, 1609, formed by Duke Max, the Archduke Leopold of Austria, the Bishops of Würzburg, Ratisbon, Augsburg, Constance, Strasburg, Passau, and several abbots, for the protection of the imperial laws, but also—there was no mention of religion in the documents of the Union—for the protection of the Catholic religion and its adherents.

The League was a union only in name ; it was in reality the creation and tool of an energetic and resolute prince, who knew how to make the ecclesiastical princes of South Germany understand that the question for them was to be or not to be, and that therefore they must put their hands in their pockets. Duke Max created an excellent army out

of the means of the League, of Bavarians commanded by Bavarian leaders. He had some tolerably extensive projects in view ; we have memoirs from which it appears that he tried to obtain the co-operation of Spain and the Pope. It is noteworthy, on the contrary, that he systematically aimed to form the League without the help of Austria. He projected, as has been remarked even on the Catholic side, a little Catholic Germany under Bavarian hegemony, as a closer league in alliance with Austria.

The League had some significance. It had a head, and an army which could take up arms at the first moment of alarm. The Union had neither, and would probably fall to the ground from internal weakness.

Any accident might furnish the pretext for a tremendous war. This was the opportunity sagaciously chosen by Henry IV. to interfere in German affairs. His death postponed the struggle.

Meanwhile disorder was increasing in the hereditary Hapsburg dominions. Opposition to attempts at forcible conversions grew to open revolts. Rudolph was quite incompetent to allay the storm. His relatives met together, and in consequence of his "weakness of mind"—so it was said in a treaty with Hungary—appointed his brother Matthias his guardian. He was a man without character, pushed forward by vain ambition, who always succeeded in fomenting discontent, never in allaying it.

He played with fire, incited the people against his brother, entered into conspiracy with the malcontents in Hungary, Moravia, and German Austria against the Emperor, deprived him of his lands and crown, and yet was too weak to quell the revolt of the States.

Thus it was that the events took place which seemed to make the dissolution of the Imperial States probable. In

92 THE GERMAN EMPIRE FROM 1555 TO 1618.

the hereditary dominions Rudolph was deposed in Hungary. He had to delegate the administration to Matthias. He tried to keep a hold on the Bohemians by means of the Royal Charter, but even they revolted, and threw themselves into the arms of the leaders of the opposition, who promised them still more. On the 20th January, 1612, he died, a landless prince, worn out by madness and disease, deprived of all his crowns.

The seven years' reign of the Emperor Matthias (1612-19) was the bitterest chastisement for himself. He had to learn that it is an easier task to ruin a weak ruler, amidst general revolt, than to master the spirits that he has called up. Rudolph just escaped from the crisis without bloodshed, but the flames of civil war were to close round the head of his successor. He also shared Rudolph's fate. The Arch-dukes appointed a guardian for him in the person of Ferdinand of Styria, and when he died Bohemia and Austria were in open rebellion.

Ferdinand began his government in Bohemia with a crying infringement of the Charter, by closing the churches at Braunau, and destroying those at Klostergrab. In May, 1618, the insurrection broke out at Prague. The hated imperial ministers, Martinitz and Slavata, were thrown out of window, "according to good old Bohemian custom," as was said by one of the nobles present; a sort of provisional government was established, and an army taken into pay.

This was the beginning of the Thirty Years' War, and on the same heights where an end was put to the winter kingdom, the contending parties afterwards exchanged their last shots.

PART VIII.

FIRST PHASE OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.—THE
BOHEMIAN, PALATINATE, AND DANISH WARS,
1620-29.

CHAPTER XXXII.*

First Acts of Ferdinand II., from March, 1619.—His Character and Education.—Beginning of his Reign in Revolutionary Austria.—Election of Emperor, August, 1619.—The Winter Kingdom of Frederick V., and the War in Bohemia.—The Battle of Weissenberg, near Prague, 8th November, 1620.—The Catholic Reaction in Bohemia and the Palatinate, 1621.

FIRST ACTS OF FERDINAND II.—CHARACTER AND EDUCATION.—BEGINNING OF HIS REIGN IN REVOLUTIONARY AUSTRIA.—ELECTION OF EMPEROR, AUGUST, 1619.

EVER since the beginning of the seventeenth century, all those differences—national, political, and religious—had been stirred up in Austria on the suppression of

* General literature. Besides that before mentioned, Khevenhiller's *Annales Ferdinandeï*. Leipzig, 1716. *Theatrum Europaeum*. Frankfurt, 1632. Galeazzo Gualdo Priorato, *Historia di Ferdinando III.* T. I. Londorp, *Acta publica*. Menzel. Leon. Pappus ep. rer. germ. ed. Arndts. 1856. Senkenberg's *Fortsetzung von Häberlin's Reichsgeschichte*. Mailath, *Geschichte des Oesterreich. Kaiserstaats*, 1837. Mebold, *der dreissigjährige Krieg*. 1840. Söhl, *der Religionskrieg in Deutschland*. Hamburg, 1839.—Up to 1830, Wolf, *Geschichte der Kurfürsten Maximilian Herausg.* von Breyer, 1807. Von Aretin,

94 FIRST PHASE OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

which the ingenious construction of the empire depended. This unusual situation required unusual measures. In order to render Rudolph's weakness innocuous, the family council of the Archdukes met together and appointed Matthias regent ; and as he also proved incompetent, similar measures were adopted in his case.

In going through the ranks of the Archdukes, Ferdinand of Styria was the most distinguished. He was the son of Duke Charles of Styria, and cousin to Matthias. He certainly had not the first claim ; but of those who stood before him several were ecclesiastics, others childless, so that the family agreed to depute him as the most suitable to take upon himself the cares of empire.

Ferdinand was one of the first pupils of the Jesuits among the German princes, and grew up a thorough disciple of the society in his ideas and aims, was adapted rather for the pulpit or the confessional than the throne, and early bound by fanatical vows the fulfilment of which probably gave him more trouble than he anticipated. He had early vowed to use all possible means to exterminate heresy, and was resolved rather to reign over a desert than over a heretical country.

This was fearfully fulfilled, for he did indeed leave a desert behind him, in which, nevertheless, heresy was not quite extirpated.

He was one of those characters who in the hands of the priests are capable of terrible things ; he was destitute of

Geschichte Maximilians, Passau. 1842. The same: *Baiern's Auswärtige Verhältnisse*, Passau. 1839. Von Rommel, *Geschichte von Hessen*. Häusser, *Geschichte der Pfalz*. Müller, K. A. fünf Bücher vom Böhmischem Kriege. Leipzig, 1841. Peschek, *Geschichte der Gegen Reformation in Böhmen*. Leipzig, 1844. V. d. Decken *Geo. v. Braunschweig und Lüneburg*. Villermont, *Comte de Tilly*, 1859. Erdmannsdörfer, C. E. v. Savoyen. 1861.

bold and original ideas, but was one of those quiet souls who hold to the creed of their adoption at the peril of their lives, and are ready to sacrifice for it all that has hitherto been dear to them. He was more fit for the pupil of a college of priests, than for the task of ruling this great crisis in a conciliatory spirit, and of closing the abyss of civil war.

Almost the whole of the empire was a prey to heresy and revolt. When in 1596 he began to reign in Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola, it was with the determination to subjugate all enemies of the true faith and absolutism, and his country was the only monarchy where this plan succeeded. He declared that he would rather beg, or be cut in pieces, than submit to heresy any longer. Catholic priests were sent to the Protestant peasantry, and when they rebelled they were brought to submission by force. He who was not converted within a certain time was obliged to emigrate; schools and churches were razed to the ground; many thousands of Bibles and books of sermons were burnt; the rebellious people were treated with banishment, dragoonades, and the gallows; and when the unhappy creatures appealed to the ordinances of Maximilian II., they were told that rulers were not bound by pernicious charters.

In his private life Ferdinand appears to have led a simple, strictly moral life. His character, though narrow and rigid, was not cruel—at least not from brutal lust of power.* As to what is adduced by his defenders, that he

* From a manuscript of 800 pages, in the Bibl. Royale (Mss. fr. N. 964, St. Victor), containing notes by the Papal Nuncio of an eight years' sojourn in Germany, Häusser quotes the following passage about Ferdinand:—"Ferdinand II., en âge de cinquante et un an, de médiocre stature, de forte complexion, de poil tirant sur le roux, d'agréable présence, affable et civil envers tout le monde. Il boit peu, ne dort encore moins, ayant accoustumé de se coucher à dix heures et de se lever à quatre et quelquefois devant. Quant à sa piété envers notre religion

96 FIRST PHASE OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

shed tears at the execution of the cruelties he ordained, I believe that he considered these victims to be demanded by his faith—that he was a genuine fanatic, who would have given his life could he have reclaimed all heretics with one blow.

The broad views of a ruler who is above all parties, and gives every one his due in his own sphere, were in those days the privilege of a few superior men, like William of Orange and Henry IV. Ferdinand was utterly destitute of them, and his education had taught him to look upon all toleration of this sort as an attack upon religion.

The previous policy, therefore, first of toleration, and afterwards of weakness, was regarded by him as the greatest evil; and the close connection which then existed in Austria between heresy and all tendencies to political liberty and national disintegration conduced to confirm the view that, as guardian of the unity of the empire, he must place himself in an attitude of defence against a dangerous revolt.*

The first person, therefore, to be deprived of all influence was Cardinal Klesel, in whom Ferdinand saw weakness and half measures personified.

Klesel was a parvenu of the lowest kind, with all the worst characteristics of such persons. He was a fawning courtier, yet had a strong inclination for absolute power; possessed more pliant talent than strongly marked character, on n'en saurait rien dire qui ne soit au dessous de la vérité. Toutes les fêtes solennelles et principalement celle des douze apôtres, il fréquente dans sa chapelle les cérémonies de confession et de communion. Le jeudi saint il reçoit la communion avec l'Impératrice son épouse et avec les princes ses fils, de la main du nonce de St. Siège, pour apprendre à ses sujets par son exemple à satisfaire à ce commandement de l'Eglise," &c.—ED.

* See the declaration made to the Court of Spain in Khevenhiller and the letter to Philip III., 7th September, 1609—Raumer, Vol. III.

and was therefore well adapted to serve a man like Matthias as adviser and tool. He maintained a policy of studied clemency and conciliation ; advised every country to yield as much as possible, as this was in accordance with the views of Matthias, and appeared to be the only practicable plan. Then came the revolution in the palace ; Klesel was carried off one morning as a state criminal and thrown into prison, because he had pursued a policy at his Emperor's side which was abhorrent to the archdukes.

After Klesel's disgrace, Ferdinand became the leading man, and on the death of Matthias, 20th of March, 1619, he was indisputably the next heir to the throne.

He came to Vienna and found things just as they had once been in Styria ; the whole country filled with Protestantism ; the citizens, the nobles, and peasants in the country, almost all openly addicted to heresy. Not far from Vienna was Count Thurn with his Bohemian soldiers. Bethlen Gabor was advancing from Hungary, and a large party in the capital were resolved to make common cause with them. The Emperor's life was scarcely secure ; commotions took place like those at Prague ; armed citizens forced an entry into the palace to demand religious liberty. The leaders shook him by the doublet, exclaiming : " Nandel, give in ; thou must sign." It nearly came to establishing a provisional government over him, and had the rebels been daring enough they might have seized his person.

In these times of distress, Ferdinand comported himself like a man ; a storm had to be braved before which many would have quailed. He did brave it, and, like many other people in history, he found it easier to bear misfortune than success.

A happy chance—the timely arrival of a regiment of cuirassiers—saved the Emperor from his rebellious people.

98 FIRST PHASE OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

Now there was a great question to solve, on which depended the immediate future of the house of Hapsburg—the election of Emperor.

The imperial dignity no longer conferred absolute power ; it brought neither an army nor a treasury. If, therefore, Ferdinand reckoned upon defeating the rebels in Prague and Vienna with the power of the German imperial crown, he was mistaken.

It did nevertheless possess some significance. There are many things in life which seem worthless when we have them, but which it is an immense disadvantage to lose. This was the case with the imperial dignity. The loss of it at this juncture would have been a verdict pronounced upon the house of Hapsburg by the German empire. The Czecks, Magyars, Moravians, Silesians, the inhabitants of Vienna themselves, were shaking the tottering house, especially Ferdinand's authority. Germany was the last straw, the plank to which the sinking hopes of the Hapsburgs were clinging. Vienna was doubtful, Bohemia in open revolt, Moravia, Silesia, and Hungary not far from it. The Tyrol and Styria were not sufficient to support the throne ; if Germany forsook it, it was lost.

If the Electors chose the Archduke, he would have something to hold by ; the German empire at any rate would have shown that it did not renounce the Hapsburgs. Never, therefore, were they more desirous that the election should fall on their house. If it did not, the house must sink into the abyss of revolution.

For the German empire the situation was different. The interests of the two sides were at variance. If Ferdinand were elected, the empire must be engulfed in the whirlpool of revolution in South and East Germany. It would inherit a civil war which would suffice to ignite all

the inflammable materials in Germany. The state of parties in the empire was just such as to give rise to fears of a dangerous outbreak ; how would it be if the uncompromising fanatic of the extreme restoration were called to the head of affairs ?

Undoubtedly had there been at that time a prince in Germany worthy of the dignity, and sufficiently unbiassed in religious matters to give both parties their due, his election would have been most desirable, and might perhaps have spared Germany the horrors of the Thirty Years' War. But there was not, and Germany was engulfed in a most fearful struggle.

Ferdinand's election was disputed from the first, for the Bohemians no longer acknowledged him ; but this was of little use if they had no other candidate. The impotence of the Union came to light ; the Protestants were divided within and without : they abhorred the idea of a Jesuit Emperor, but had only empty ranks and impracticable proposals to oppose to him. In the meddling Palatinate, the candidateship to the imperial dignity was, as it were, hawked about the streets, and yet there were no bidders.

Scarcely escaped from the attack of the Bohemians, Ferdinand came to Frankfort through the enemy's country, to the election.

After six months of angry negotiation and correspondence, they had not even agreed in the Protestant camp upon a protest against Ferdinand as a candidate, though he had been declared to be disqualified by the Bohemians, so that when the day of election came, his victory was as good as decided. It was the first step out of the crisis by which Austria had so long been convulsed.

Had it been previously known that just when the electors were announcing Ferdinand's election, the Bohemians

100 FIRST PHASE OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

had gone a step further, had deposed King Ferdinand and proclaimed a new election, they would perhaps have reconsidered the subject, or at any rate have put off the election. But it was now too late; the electors had to submit to the logic of facts which they had themselves helped to bring to pass.

THE WINTER KINGDOM AND THE WAR IN BOHEMIA, 1619-22.—BATTLE OF PRAGUE, 8TH NOVEMBER, 1620.

The choice of the Bohemians during the same days of August fell upon the head of the Union, the Elector Palatine Frederic V., because, so it was stated, "he is a very discreet gentleman, possessing great qualities, and is acquainted with divers languages," because "he has a powerful and well-trained people, and is in alliance with great foreign powers, England, Holland, and Switzerland." In Bohemia, they knew neither the internal weakness of the Union nor the untrustworthiness of its foreign allies; they believed in it, and looked for help from it which it could never afford.

Frederic V. was married to Elizabeth Stuart, a daughter of James V. The marriage had been hailed with joy in England, as a family alliance between the still suspicious English king and the leader of German Protestantism, and Parliament was afterwards always ready to send subsidies to the Elector. This connection with England had great weight with the Bohemians.

The Elector vacillated a long time; and when he did arrive at a decision, it was not, as has been long supposed, the result of his wife's influence, but of other things. He was personally a very insignificant ruler—amiable in private life, a patron of artists and learned men, but wholly incompetent for grave political business, to say nothing of

undertaking a great venture ; he was always dependent on the advice of others, and was not a man who, in critical moments, would resolve to stake everything, as was necessary in such a situation. He was influenced by ambition not to give up the leadership which had been for a generation in his family, by the hope of aid from England, and in great part by the help of a number of people who then ruled the policy of the Palatinate—landless princes, younger sons of younger brothers. Such an one among others who eagerly advised him to accept the crown was Christian of Anhalt ; then came the suggestions of the clever but misguided Ludwig Camerarius, and the Calvinist confessor Scultetus.*

Thus it came to pass that at the end of October, 1619, "the Palatinate went to Bohemia."

Frederic V. hoped to find strength in Bohemia, and the Bohemians hoped for strength from him. But he found only a Slavonian revolution, uncontrollable nobles, and a state in process of dissolution, over which the aristocracy wanted to rule themselves. Everybody was relying upon somebody else, and everybody was deserted.

Bohemia was chiefly ruled by the Slavonic party, at the head of which were a number of ambitious nobles, and the majority of the people revelled with them in the recollection of the national monarchy of the fifteenth century. The new King at once ruined his cause with both parties : with the nobles, because he would not listen to their claims to take part in the government, and only followed the advice of Anhalt and Camerarius ; with the people, by his singular way of life and Calvinistic narrowness. An antiquated and somewhat pedantic mode of life prevailed in Bohemia, and there were deeply-rooted prejudices against the licentious

* Upon this section see Häusser, *Geschichte der Pfalz*.—ED.

102 FIRST PHASE OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

courts of those days; but the young Elector Palatine and his whole court were infected with French frivolity to a degree which could not but offend the strict views of the Bohemians. Frederic's demure Calvinism was a curious contrast to the gallantry of the men and women of the court; he belonged to the Reformed party, while the Bohemians were Lutherans. He had, indeed, acknowledged unconditional religious liberty in Bohemia; but the zealots about him, Scultetus at their head, would not rest until, in the principal church at Prague, all images, pictures, and relics were cleared away, and the beautiful church converted into a Calvinistic meeting-house. The irritation produced by differences of creed increased, and contributed more than anything else to estrange the people from their king. They were at variance in language, nationality, manners, and creed. It would have been a miracle had prosperity ensued.

Ferdinand had not the power to subject Bohemia by force of arms. He had acquired moral importance as Emperor, but the dignity did not provide him with money or troops. He was therefore compelled to throw himself into the arms of the League. The League was something different from the Union; it was not an alliance in which every member laid claim to many rights, and owned but few duties, but a united organization in the hands of an energetic martial prince, whose allies, so called, had only to provide funds.

The League now became, and remained for several years, the leading power in Germany.

On the 8th of October, 1619, Ferdinand concluded a treaty with his relative and the friend of his youth, Max of Bavaria, in which the latter took good care of himself.

It provided that the Duke should undertake the unconditional and exclusive command of the whole proceedings against the rebellious heretics in Austria, Bohemia, and

Upper Austria ; this last, indeed, had first to be taken as security for indemnification for the expenses of the war. In return, Max collected all his forces to assist the deserted Emperor.

In 1620 the war began.*

The war might not be lost if only it were rationally carried on in Bohemia. Money, indeed, was wanting, and so were efficient troops ; but neither had Max any superfluity of means, and would be lost unless he speedily gained a decisive battle. In the Bohemian camp, therefore, it was necessary to keep strictly to the defensive. In those days, if a general had not the means to pay his troops, there was nothing else to keep them together—neither oath nor devotion to any person nor cause. This was one cause of the weakness of the army of the League, and it suffered also from sickness, in consequence of the bad weather. The army must have been dissolved if, on the Bohemian side, they had known how to avoid a battle and to starve the enemy by a tedious defensive war.

* In March of the new year the "Winter King" had addressed a letter to Louis XIII. of France, asking for help, which Häusser found and made extracts from, among the MSS. of the Bibliothèque Royale, entitled "*Memoires pour l'Histoire d'Allemagne depuis 1619 jusqu'à 1638.*" It is dated 24th March, 1620, and tries to prove that the threatened war was entirely political and by no means religious in its character ; see, for example, the following passage :—"Mes actions aussy bien que mes déclarations monstrent assez que je n'ay eu la pensée, moins encore la volonté de faire ou permettre estre fait aucun desplaisir à mes subjects de la religion catholique romaine à cause de la dite religion, qu'au contraire j'ay et auray toujours en soin, particulier de les protéger également avec les autres sans distinction." Should the war really break out, he calls to mind the ancient alliance between the Palatinate and Louis's father, and begs respectfully "qu'il vous plaise me tendre la main de vostre bonne assistance fondée sur la confiance que j'ay de vostre dicte bienveillance, et sur les voeux que j'ay fait de conserver inviolablement l'affection héréditaire que je porte au bien de vostre couronne."—ED.

But just the contrary course was taken. With a corps of officers who caroused in camp instead of doing their duty, and ill-disciplined troops, they faced a well-trained army one-third greater in numbers. On the 5th of October, Christian of Anhalt took up his position on the Weissenberg, near Prague, and three days afterwards, notwithstanding his personal bravery, sustained an ignominious defeat, which decided the fate of the winter kingdom in an hour.

The rebels in Bohemia and Moravia immediately submitted ; Mansfeld only carried on a hopeless banditti warfare for months on his own account. Frederic fled to Silesia ; at Breslau appealed to the Union for help, and tried to incite the Protestant States of the country to oppose the reaction which, as he truly foretold, would take place against the whole of Protestantism. But it was in vain ; here also they submitted to the victorious Duke ; that one battle had ruined the cause. Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, and Lusatia again belonged to the prince whom they had deposed a year before. The Protestant princes watched with malicious satisfaction the flight of the helpless Winter King, who, even among his own relations, scarcely found even the refuge he needed, to say nothing of succour.

The revolution in Bohemia had not been quelled by Ferdinand, but by the League ; yet the victorious cause was common to both,—it was the cause of ecclesiastical restoration, of conversion by means of Jesuits and soldiers.

No foreign intervention was to be feared ; the hopes of the Winter King, of help from abroad, melted like spray before the wind ; his own inheritance soon became a prey to the enemy ; the distribution of the spoils of victory could begin. Upon the way in which this was done, it depended whether the war, which had hitherto scarcely been a German, far less a European one, should develope into one of world-wide importance.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL REACTION IN BOHEMIA AND THE
PALATINATE.

The dreaded crisis which had been hanging over Germany for decades had taken place. The supremacy of the Emperor was decisively pronounced. One of the leaders of German Protestantism was pitifully defeated; it was a blow which could not but be severely felt by all German princes; still, it was far yet from being a religious war.

If Ferdinand now zealously carried out the Restoration in Bohemia, and declared that the charter was forfeited because it had been infringed by the country itself, it was no more than could be expected. It was but revenge for the imprudent policy of 1619-20, which was seen through at once by every one except Frederic V.—that of taking the course they did without the necessary means.

But it was another thing to show Bohemia who was master by openly proclaiming the system of forced conversion, and carrying it out with sanguinary strictness. This was the way to let loose the religious war, and to give occasion for foreign intervention.

With but a little moderation, Ferdinand and the League might have obtained an easy victory in his own country, and yet have disarmed suspicion at home and abroad. But his they could not do. Whether the fault was in the men or in their personal passions, they went to work shyly and inconsiderately, and the war ceased to be a Bohemian or German, and became a European one.

The Protestant Union was already entirely out of joint. When, in the summer of 1620, Spinola advanced up the Rhine with Spanish soldiers, the Union had nothing to oppose to them but an absurd reference to the imperial law which forbade the presence of foreign troops in Germany.

This was before the catastrophe to their brother in the faith. When afterwards Ferdinand appeared with the defiance of a victor, the Union was dissolved, submitted ignominiously, and the empire again resounded with jeers and malicious joy.

On the 29th of January, 1621, Ferdinand had pronounced the unhappy Frederic under the ban of the empire, and appointed the Duke of Bavaria to execute the sentence. Of all the forms prescribed by the constitution, even in cases of proved guilt, not one was observed ; the aggrieved person, accuser and judge, was one and the same individual. After this beginning, little clemency could be looked for from the Emperor.

In June, 1621, a fearful reign of terror began in Bohemia,* with the execution of twenty-seven of the most distinguished heretics. For years the unhappy people bled under it ; thousands were banished, and yet Protestantism was not fully exterminated. The charter was cut into shreds by the Emperor himself ; there could be no forbearance towards "such acknowledged rebels." As a matter of course, the Lutheran preaching was forbidden under the heaviest penalties ; heretical works, Bibles especially, were taken away in heaps. Jesuit colleges, churches, and schools came into power ; but this was not all.

A large number of distinguished Protestant families were deprived of their property, and, as if that were not enough, it was decreed that no non-Catholic could be a citizen, nor carry on a trade, enter into marriage, nor make a will ; any one who harboured a Protestant preacher forfeited his property ; whoever permitted Protestant instruction to be given was to be fined, and whipped out of the town ; the Protestant

* See Reuss, *La Destruction du Protestantisme en Bohême*. Strasbourg, 1867.

poor who were not converted were to be driven out of the hospitals, and to be replaced by Catholic poor; he who gave free expression to his opinions about religion was to be executed. In 1624 an order was issued to all preachers and teachers to leave the country within eight days, under pain of death; and finally, it was ordained that whoever had not become Catholic by Easter, 1626, must emigrate. Light and air, the simplest rights of man in a state, were denied to the Protestants. But the real conversions were few; thousands quietly remained true to their faith; other thousands wandered as beggars into foreign lands; more than thirty thousand Bohemian families, and among them five hundred belonging to the aristocracy, went into banishment. Exiled Bohemians were to be found in every country of Europe, and were not wanting in any of the armies that fought against Austria.

Those who could not or would not emigrate, held to their faith in secret. Against them dragoonades were employed. Detachments of soldiers were sent into the various districts to torment the heretics till they were converted. The "Converters" (Seligmacher) went thus throughout all Bohemia, plundering and murdering. There were sanguinary revolts; in some places they fortified and defended themselves to the uttermost. No succour reached the unfortunate people; but neither did the victors attain their end. Protestantism and the Hussite memories could not be slain, and only outward submission was extorted. Striking proof of this appeared when Joseph II. published his Edict of Toleration; and a respectable Protestant party exists to this day in Bohemia and Moravia. But a desert was created; the land was crushed for a generation. Before the war Bohemia had 4,000,000 inhabitants, and in 1648 there were but 700,000 or 800,000.

108 FIRST PHASE OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

These figures appear preposterous, but they are certified by Bohemian historians. In some parts of the country the population has not attained the standard of 1620 to this day.

As early as the summer of 1622, the imperial policy made way for itself into the inheritance of the "Winter King" by an unparalleled piece of villainy.

A certain degree of unity and spirit had been introduced into the planless banditti warfare which the adventurer Mansfeld and the chivalrous Colonel Obertraut had been carrying on in the Upper and Lower Palatinate against Spain and Bavaria since the summer of 1621, when in April, 1622, the outlawed Elector Frederic suddenly appeared among his faithful subjects in the Palatinate.

The brave Margrave, George Frederic of Baden, joined Mansfeld with a splendid troop, and obtained a brilliant victory over the Bavarians under Tilly at Wiesloch. In spite of the defeat of the Margrave at Wimpfen in May, and of the wild Christian of Brunswick, near Höchst, in June, Frederic V. had in Alsace a strong and valiant army, when, from his love of peace and confidence in his father-in-law, James I., who was himself deceived, the unwary youth allowed himself to be ensnared by perfidious negotiations—first, to suspend hostilities, and then to dismiss his army, in order, as the diplomatic deceiver said, that peace might be made.

Now that the Palatinate was laid open, and the Elector disarmed, Tilly, who, at the first news of Frederic's arrival, had given up the siege of the Dilsberg, could complete the subjugation of the Palatinate in peace. Nevertheless, it was only with great difficulty that Heidelberg was taken in September, and Mannheim in November, while the garrison of Frankenthal defended themselves successfully against him. With the Bavarian soldiers, who here, as everywhere,

behaved with great barbarity, came the Jesuits to destroy this nest of Calvinism. The Reformed ministers were driven away, and were replaced by priests and monks ; the flourishing university was closed, and the treasures of its world-renowned library dragged in fifty waggons to Rome. The conversion of this out-and-out Protestant people was begun with a certain moderation, but afterwards carried on with more vigour. The Lutherans, who were at first spared, had an opportunity here, as in Bohemia, of watching the ill-treatment of the Reformed party with malicious satisfaction. But their turn came next.

At the meeting of princes summoned by Ferdinand in November, instead of a Diet, at Ratisbon, the dignity of Elector Palatine was solemnly conferred on the victorious Duke of Bavaria. The new Government at once distinguished itself by a passionate zeal for conversion. While the dissolute conduct of the "Converters" (Seligmacher) in Upper Austria was driving the obscure peasants to a desperate revolt, the Bavarians began to make the good old Protestant country Catholic. It was more easily accomplished than in Bohemia and Upper Austria. The Papal Nuncio, Caraffa, who was met there by almost unconquerable defiance, considered that the inhabitants of the Palatinate had passed through their second birth far more painlessly than their brethren in the faith in Austria and Bohemia. The witnesses of it were the many thousands of the inhabitants who left their fair country, and became proverbial in Europe as refugees from South Germany.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE DANISH WAR, 1625—29, AND ALBRECHT OF WALLENSTEIN.

Change of Sentiment.—The Protestant League: England, Holland, Denmark, 1625.—Christian IV. of Denmark.—Albrecht von Wallenstein.—His Character.—The War of 1626-8.—Defeat of Mansfeld at Dessau, April, 1626.—Defeat of Christian IV. at Lutter, on the Barenberg, August, 1626.—Wallenstein and Tilly in North Germany, Mecklenburg, Stralsund, 1628.—Peace of Lubeck, May, 1629.—The Edict of Restitution, March, 1629, and its Significance.—Machinations of the League against Wallenstein.—The Meeting of Princes at Ratisbon.—Dismissal of Wallenstein, June, 1630.

CHANGE OF SENTIMENT.—THE PROTESTANT LEAGUE BETWEEN ENGLAND, HOLLAND, AND DENMARK, 1625.—CHRISTIAN IV. OF DENMARK.

THE affairs of 1622-3 in Bohemia, Upper Austria, and the Palatinate had a terribly irritating effect in and beyond Germany.

When the Winter King hastened through Germany, fugitive and defenceless, after the lost battle, denied by his own relations as a criminal, and avoided like a leper, not a single voice was heard in his favour; and when he warned them in a public appeal that his cause was the cause of Protestantism, that his defeat would result in the establishment of Spanish absolutism in Germany, he was met

with jeers by the Lutherans; and Saxony advised the Silesian States not to be seduced by the rebels, or just that which they wished to avert would happen. Frederic's father-in-law, James I. of England, did not find it advisable, from reasons affecting the legitimacy of rulers, to give a bad example, by supporting a revolution; and, besides this, he had promised Spain not to take any part but that of a neutral mediator.

But these sentiments were changed when the consequences of such an attitude appeared.

The beginning of the brutal Catholic reaction, first in Bohemia, then in Austria, showed what was meant by the victory of the League. Then came the perfidious abuse of James's mediation against his son-in-law, the deposition of the Elector, and the forced conversion of the Protestant Palatinate. All this, in spite of the fair speeches, for which popular wit invented the name of "Spanish sleeping-cup," pointed to a Catholic reaction, in face of which no one was secure against a system of compulsion which would overthrow all law and usage.

At the meeting at Ratisbon, which was intended to give an appearance of legality to the proceedings against the Elector, there were warnings of opposition. Pliant Saxony spoke against his deposition, and even withdrew her previous recognition of the ban; Brandenburg warmly took the part of the Elector, whom she had hitherto contemptuously neglected.

In Lower Saxony ideas of armed resistance were already rife, for the foreign soldiery was almost ruining the country, when a change took place in England which opened up a prospect of a great European coalition against Spain and Hapsburg.

James I. and Buckingham, embittered by Spain's jesuiti-

112 FIRST PHASE OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

cal intrigues, proposed it to Parliament in February, 1624. Parliament received it with joy, and with the assurance that it was ready to defend the true religion and the rights of the royal children with body and soul. When Mansfeld arrived in London he was greeted with acclamation by the whole population, up to the aristocracy, as the hero of religious liberty.

From the well-known vacillation of the Government of James I. and Buckingham, no persistent military interposition could be reckoned on ; more energy was thrown into it under his successor, Charles I., after March, 1625, and the Protestant League was at length an accomplished fact. A treaty was entered into on 9th December, 1625, at the Hague, between England, Holland, and Denmark, the object of which was a great expedition to the Continent, to oppose the Hapsburgs and reinstate the Elector.

Negotiations had previously been entered into with Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, but they had not been able to agree on the conditions, and the cautious Swedish policy had rejected the project as rash and too extensive.

England was not in a position to carry on the war in Germany on her own account ; Holland was in the same situation ; they were both obliged to depend on subsidies from the warlike rulers of the Continent, and the help of their fleets on the coasts.

King Christian of Denmark declared himself ready for intervention. As Duke of Schleswig-Holstein, he was a prince of the German Empire, and had been appointed chief of the district by the district of Lower Saxony ; besides the hope of enriching himself in North Germany, it was greatly to his interest that Catholic restoration should be checked. The kingdom of Denmark had become what it was solely through the Reformation and its results, poli-

tical and ecclesiastical. Frederic I. and Christian III. had caused the Reformation to be brought to their kingdom proper from Schleswig, Holstein, and Jutland ; their crown first attained power and dignity through the destruction of the temporal and ecclesiastical feudal system ; so that for this kingdom a religious restoration meant a return to the ancient yoke under which it, in common with the burgher and peasant class, had so long suffered.

Frederic II., 1559-88, and Christian IV. had diligently aided in building up the new State and in giving it a healthy domestic foundation.

The downfall of the mighty ecclesiastical system had indeed only been effected by means of an alliance of the crown with the nobles, in which the latter had contrived to secure the lion's share for themselves ; they took care to have their privileges, their power in the senate, their legal jurisdiction and immunity from taxes, secured to them by the bond as clearly as possible. Still, there was scope enough left for the government to take quietly in hand the emancipation of the middle classes, by means of a conscientious, economical government ; by the lenient administration of laws in themselves severe ; by having regard at the same time to the finances of the State and the prosperity of the people, by increasing their earnings, by rational encouragement of trade and manufactures, by turning to account the natural inclinations of this insular people for navigation and colonial enterprise—thus making the cause of the monarchy the cause of the working population, who now first began to lead a life worthy of men. Frederic II. and Christian IV. accomplished this with skill and assiduity.

Up to the time of the war in Germany, Christian was a beloved and successful monarch. A man possessing rare

114 FIRST PHASE OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

gifts, a great variety of knowledge, and broad views, he laid during his long reign the foundations of the material prosperity which Denmark enjoyed until the last century.

He was at once the first military organizer of Denmark, and the founder of its domestic and commercial policy, thus exhibiting qualifications not often combined. The foundation of the commercial cities of Christiania and Glückstadt, the exchange in Copenhagen, the introduction of uniform weights and measures, the colonies in Iceland and Greenland, regular postal intercourse, the attempt to check the commercial supremacy of the Hansa, and the formation of a standing army not composed of foreign hirelings, but of native peasants led by Danish officers, all date from his time.

At the head of an efficient army, this monarch was a power not to be despised, especially if the aid of England and Holland were as trustworthy as it was readily promised.

As wearer of a crown to which the success of the Catholic restoration would be a fatal danger—as a prince of the German Empire, enjoying great influence in North Germany, Christian IV. could not look on with apathy at the war in Germany, besides which he might have an idea of rounding off the possession of Holstein in Lower Saxony. So he accepted the offer of England and Holland, and began the war in North Germany, supported by some of the North German princes who were influenced by similar considerations.

The war was not successful ; at the very beginning of it the army of the League occupied North Germany, and when it came to a battle Christian was driven from the field, and the Danish army pursued by Wallenstein back to its own country. But the significance of this war lies elsewhere. About this time Ferdinand II. succeeded in detaching himself from the

guardianship of the League, and in carrying on the war with his own resources. The formation and triumphs of this new army are connected with Albrecht von Wallenstein.

ALBRECHT VON WALDSTEIN, OR WALLENSTEIN.

Wallenstein belonged to the nobility, but not to the high Bohemian aristocracy. His parents and grandparents, and his family, with few exceptions, were Protestants, but by a singular dispensation, the young Albrecht, born 15th September, 1583, and early left an orphan, was adopted by an uncle, one of the few of the family who had remained faithful to Catholicism, and he brought him back to the old faith. He grew up as a pupil of the Jesuits. A Catholic nobleman was a rarity in Bohemia. He was introduced by his uncle into the service of the Hapsburgs, and early distinguished himself. He performed a great service to the Archduke Ferdinand, in Styria, in his war against the Venetians, in 1617; when the fortress of Gradiska was besieged by the Venetians and closely pressed, he contrived to convey rich stores of provisions to it through the ranks of the besiegers; and, still more important than this, he equipped a regiment from his own resources, whose officers and troops adored him, and whose appearance was the pride of the whole army. A talented young soldier, who was at once a Catholic and an adherent of the house of Hapsburg, was a real treasure in those days of general defection. When the revolt broke out in Bohemia, and all his relations were on the Protestant side, he distinguished himself by his strongly marked imperialism; he helped with his cuirassiers to decide the engagement against Count Mansfeld at Teyn, and he covered Bouguoy's retreat with great dexterity against the hosts of Bethlen Gabor.

Wallenstein had early rendered himself independent by a rich marriage. He shunned no sacrifice to secure the favour of the Hapsburgs at the time of their great difficulties, and he had the knack of keeping up an appearance of great expenditure, while he was a good manager; he never lost a favourable opportunity, and even when he gave liberally was only casting the net for greater gain.

As nearly all the aristocracy were upon the rebel side in the Bohemian revolution, his faithfulness was doubly valuable, and, when the great confiscation of property took place, the time came for him to reap his harvest.

By the year 1622, Ferdinand had confiscated no less than 642 lordships and estates of Bohemian noblemen; and, as he was in great want of money, the spoil was sold at ridiculous prices. The market was flooded with estates; he who had ready money to spend could quickly acquire immense wealth. Wallenstein was a millionaire, and spent seven millions and one-third of florins in buying some of these estates, mostly at absurd prices; and, in addition to the sixty properties thus acquired, he received from the Emperor, for the advances made in his service, the important territory of Friedland, with the little town of Reichenberg, for the price of 150,000 florins.*

Besides having this good fortune, Wallenstein was an unusually talented man, not so much as a general, as in his great skill in organizing, exercising, disciplining, and providing for an army.

The military system of Europe was then in a transition state from old forms to new, or rather the old forms had disappeared and the new ones had not been discovered. The last relics of feudal service had vanished, and the modern system of a levy of the inhabitants for a standing

* Förster, Wallenstein als Feldherr und Landesfürst. 1834.

army had not become general ; the armies were neither the one thing nor the other ; the men were neither bound to their leaders as faithful vassals, nor bound together as belonging to the same nation. War was a trade which motives of gain were the only inducement to engage in ; a moral bond of common sentiments and higher duties was unknown. The troops were hired from all countries. Wherever circumstances were unhappy or oppressive, thousands were ready to seek their fortunes in war ; whoever, for less honourable reasons, was expelled from society, followed the drum, and gained his livelihood under any colours he pleased. The Bohemian exiles were found in thousands in all the armies which fought against Austria. The Irish were as numerous in those of their opponents ; it was the same with the Walloons, &c. The Germans were pretty equally distributed on both sides.

It was Wallenstein's forte to form an army out of such elements ; and, when every other bond of union failed, to make himself their centre.

In this respect no army was equal to his ; no one succeeded as he did in casting the whole in one mould, in inspiring the native soldiers with an *esprit de corps*, and in making himself the centre of the hirelings, and of the army as whole. For the rest, he was one of those characters who rose up in times like these—an upstart, who, from a modest position, had become a magnate, with principalities under him ; yet he was coarse by nature, never knew any other motive than thirst for power. Even people who are on the conservative side share the revolutionary characteristics of the age. He had no more respect for tradition, usage, or legal forms, than a successful soldier is likely to have ; he had taken so many of the great fall, he had taken so many successful steps over other people's heads, that he entertained the

118 FIRST PHASE OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

idea that his own iron fist might attain for him what the mere accidents of birth had cast into the laps of others. He therefore thoroughly despised the ancient German character, and had a profound contempt for the motives which actuate little men. He was a man like Napoleon's marshals, and held the opinion that it was not too rash to aspire to higher things than he possessed, and which in the opinions of other mortals might possess.

He was disposed to follow the phantasies of an extravagant ambition, and to form all sorts of hazardous projects beyond his means. He liked to play at hazard, to stake all on one card, and to follow dark paths with a certain superstition. He was fond of reservations and equivocations; called it lofty wisdom; and what others called cunning only appeared to him as diplomatic skill. No considerations, either religious, national, or personal, interfered with his ambition. He served the house of Hapsburg because it was with them that his star had risen, but it cost him nothing to engage in projects which had nothing in common with the duties of a loyal imperialist. He fought for the Catholic cause, but without the fanaticism of his master or Tilly's zeal for conversion. He was praised for his toleration, but it arose from indifference.

This personage, with immense resources, princely wealth, unusual political and military virtuosity, aspiring ambition, and a thorough contempt for tradition, appeared at the Emperor's side, and almost eclipsed him.

The Emperor was oppressed with the idea that a foreign army, that of the League, should obtain his victories and re-conquer his territories. Wallenstein created an army for him which rendered him independent of Bavaria, and was large enough to maintain itself and conquer whole countries. He said that he would provide, not 20,000, but

50,000 men, and he knew that such a force would, like an emigrant nation, be able to live from war itself and put any enemy to flight.

THE WAR OF 1626-8.

Wallenstein took the field openly, with the purpose of carrying on the war on his own responsibility, and for his own fame, and therefore of altogether ignoring, or, if possible, of eclipsing the army of the League under Tilly, which, to the great terror of the inhabitants, had been encamping for months in Lower Saxony.

From the autumn of 1625 Wallenstein encamped with his hosts between Magdeburg, Halberstadt, and Dessau, well provided with money, provisions, and every necessary, and for months worked at the erection of a secure *tête du pont* and gigantic fortifications; while Tilly, in already exhausted districts, pressed by Christian IV., wandered about in despair, his army near dissolution from sickness, want, and desertion, and he looked in vain for help either from home or from Wallenstein.

To Wallenstein belonged the fame of the first military achievement of the year. In April, Ernest of Mansfeld arrived at the Elbe with the most splendid army he had ever commanded—20,000 men, with thirty pieces of heavy artillery—and began to storm the *tête du pont* at Dessau. A fearful conflict lasted for several days; the imperial general, Aldringen, held out with heroic perseverance, and enabled Wallenstein, by a final attack with the cavalry in the rear, to decide the engagement. On April 25th, 1626, Mansfeld was signally defeated, and pursued through Frankfort into Silesia. It was his last campaign. On his journey through Bosnia he fell ill, and died as he had lived. When he felt death approaching he put on his best uniform, and awaited

120 FIRST PHASE OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

the end standing upright, supported by two of his companions in arms.*

A few months after him died that other fierce general and sharer of his views, Christian of Brunswick.

These two losses almost decided the fate of the Danish campaign. As long as these two heroes were active, and Tilly's army was scarcely in a situation to stand a united attack, Christian IV. had hesitated ; but now Tilly began to revive, Münden and Göttingen were taken with horrible slaughter. There were still favourable moments, in which, had they been taken advantage of, much might have been recovered ; but Christian neglected them, and on 27th August suffered a complete defeat at Lutter and Barenberg, and was compelled to retreat to Holstein. The army of the League was now master in Brunswick and Hanover.

Wallenstein and Tilly found no further opposition in North Germany. All Silesia with its fortresses fell into the Duke's hands, and the Emperor granted him the Duchy of Sagan and the lordship of Priebus as hereditary possessions. Thence he made preparations on a large scale for a campaign against Christian of Denmark on his own territory ; in Wallenstein's Duchy of Friedland, forges, powder mills, and manufactories of arms, were at work day and night for the equipment of his army, and his own mint coined the ready money for the payment of the troops.

When, in the autumn of 1627, he advanced by rapid marches towards the north, the two Dukes of Mecklenburg at once submitted to him, all the fortresses were garrisoned by Wallenstein, and, in conjunction with Tilly, he began operations against Holstein and Schleswig.

* A warm apology for Mansfeld has lately appeared : Ernest Graf zu Mansfeld, 1580—1626, vom Grafen Uetterodt zu Scharffenberg. Gotha, 1867.

His schemes now, as appears from his correspondence, were gigantic to a fantastic degree.

At the end of the year he took leave of absence for three months. His representative, Colonel Arnim, was commissioned to occupy and fortify all the harbours of Pomerania, to take all the ships he could, and to arm those fit for it; "for, you see, we shall now betake ourselves to the sea." He was to watch Sweden carefully, "for Gustavus Adolphus is a dangerous visitor, of whom one must beware;" he was to burn his ships when it was possible; meanwhile he was to negotiate with the Danish States, to induce them to depose their Christian, and to elect the Emperor Ferdinand king. If they consented, he promised that all their privileges, even the Reformation, should be held sacred; but if not, they should become his vassals. Meanwhile he was trying to induce the Emperor to secure Mecklenburg to him, and seeking a pretext for suspending an imperial ban over the dukes.

Now, however, the long-concealed rancour of the Duke of Bavaria and his party broke out. Wallenstein cared nothing for priests; and instead of joining with Tilly in making North Germany Catholic, his sole concern was to found a powerful principality for himself, which delayed the schemes this party had in view. He had also let fall some ominous expressions, from which it appeared that it was his intention, if possible, that all the German princes, with their "German liberty," should share the fate of the Mecklenburgers. Let the palaces of the princes, he had said, be pulled down; they would no longer be wanted; there was but one king in France and Spain, and there should be but one Emperor in Germany. The Electors, in particular, he must teach morals, and show them that the Emperor was not dependent on them, but they on the Emperor, &c.

Such counsels did not prevail, though it was thought that there were signs that the Emperor himself was of opinion "that the power of the Electors must be somewhat restricted," for he felt the burden of a personal dependence on the Elector Max, who still kept possession of Upper Austria as a pledge.

Wallenstein obtained the promise of Mecklenburg, first as a pledge and then as a principality, and the Dukes were declared to have forfeited their country. At the same time the Emperor Ferdinand released himself from the guardianship of the League. In March, 1628, the Elector Max received the Upper Palatinate instead of Upper Austria, and the Lower Palatinate on the right bank of the Rhine, as indemnity for the expenses and sacrifices of the Bohemian war. Ferdinand was thus again in possession of his inheritance; Max had deprived his own relation of his country, and the war, which could only be put an end to by bringing back the banished Count Palatine, seemed likely to go on for ever.

In the spring, Wallenstein, "the Admiral of the North and Baltic Seas," as he was now called, began to take possession of the shores of the Baltic. He had cast his eyes especially on two points—Rügen and Stralsund. The first was taken; the second resisted, being assisted by Denmark and Sweden with money, munitions, provisions, and troops. Wallenstein was determined to have the city, "even if it were attached by chains to heaven." But it was all in vain: all his attacks were repulsed, his proposals rejected; his troops suffered enormous losses from the enemy's fire, want, sickness, and bad weather, and after a six months' assault they were obliged, in August, 1628, to beat an ignominious retreat.

Wallenstein's military successes, and his splendid dream

of dominion over the seas, were put an end to by the ramparts of Stralsund, and the heroic endurance of its Protestant population. He was now the first to counsel peace; the ground burnt under his feet. Tired of a hopeless contest with maritime powers, against which he was defenceless, he was eager speedily to come to terms with Denmark. The Treaty of Lubeck was entered into in May, 1629; both parties renounced compensation, and all his cities and provinces were restored to the vanquished King Christian, as if he had been the victor.

Meanwhile the party of the League had obtained a great success. They had extorted an edict from the Emperor, to issue which he could only have been advised by his bitterest enemy; this was the Edict of Restitution of 6th March, 1629.

THE EDICT OF RESTITUTION, 1629, AND DISMISSAL OF
WALLENSTEIN, 1630.

Among the conditions imposed by the Elector Max of Bavaria, when he gave up the territory north of the Ens to the Emperor, there were two secret ones—the banishment of the Calvinists and the restitution of Catholic Church property. After long delay and consultation with ecclesiastics and laymen, the Emperor decided to accede to these demands. This was effected by the Edict of Restitution, by which it was ordained that “all bishoprics, monasteries, and other Church property not held directly under the Crown (*mittelbar*), confiscated since the Treaty of Passau, shall be restored to the Catholics; all the bishoprics held directly under the Crown (*unmittelbar*), which, contrary to the ecclesiastic reservation, had come into the hands of the Protestants, shall again be occupied by Catholic prelates. The Catholic States are empowered to

compel their subjects to adopt their religion, and in case of refusal, they are to leave the country on receiving an adequate sum of money ; further, the religious peace only concerned the Catholics and the adherents of the unaltered Confession of Augsburg. No other sects, Calvinists or Zwinglians, were to be tolerated in the empire."

This edict had, in part, strict legality on its side ; but put in practice it involved a great revolution, which would be absolute annihilation to the property and churches of the Protestant States, and indeed to German Protestantism itself. The bishoprics not held directly under the Crown, but under some local ruler, had been confiscated in great numbers by Protestant and Catholic princes. In 1552-5, when the Protestants were in the ascendancy, and had nothing to fear from the Emperor, the number of secularisations by Protestants had greatly increased ; and when, in 1555, the question was discussed, no clause could be carried which enjoined restitution. The *status quo* was quietly recognised ; but this was now more than seventy years ago, and was all to be changed by a stroke of the pen.

The ecclesiastical reservation proviso, if King Ferdinand's clause, so called, was still to be considered in force, had certainly been infringed.

Several Protestant princes had taken advantage of the occasion, and contrived that their sons or brothers should be made bishops, and afterwards, on their conversion, had changed the bishoprics into secular Protestant territories.

In now demanding that things should be restored as they were before the infringement of the reservation, they were formally right. But then they ought not in the next article to have granted to the Catholic States the right of converting or banishing their Protestant subjects, for that

was contrary to another proviso still in force, by which religious liberty was expressly granted to the Protestant subjects of ecclesiastical rulers.

If one was law, so was the other.

Then, after the religious peace, large territories belonged to the adherents of the Reformed faith : the Electoral Palatinate, Hesse Cassel, Zweibrücken, Cleve, Berg, and the electoral line of the house of Hohenzollern. These territories were deprived of their legal existence by the last article, and sacrificed to the unlimited power of the Catholic reaction.

Besides, in standing upon formal legal rights, they were taking a step, the consequences of which might be incalculable, and which could only be considered practicable by a blind camarilla elate with victory. There could no longer be any peace under such a system.

Even Saxony and Brandenburg, who were surprisingly passive so long as religion only was in danger, became very uneasy as soon as Church property was at stake ; it drove them into the enemy's camp. The bishoprics held directly under the Crown, which were to be restored, formed together a little kingdom. They were the archbishoprics of Magdeburg and Bremen, the bishoprics of Minden, Verden, Halberstadt, Lübeck, Ratzeburg, Meissen, Merseburg, Naumburg, Brandenburg, Havelberg, Lebus, Camin. The Restitution also affected numberless abbeys.

If such an edict were enforced, it would be to challenge the dynasties and people to a struggle for life and death. But this was not taken into consideration, although there was a nine years' war about trifles to look back upon.

The Protestants were often afterwards reproached with having forgotten country, honour, and everything in their hatred of the Hapsburgs, and with having served under

foreign colours, Danish, Swedish, and even French, and this cannot be gainsaid, nor the fearful confusion which resulted from it amongst our people.

But the guilt of the originators of this mischief must not be forgotten. What could they do but accept any help that was offered them, when hundreds of thousands of them were deprived of their rights, religion, and property, and driven from their country by a stroke of the pen? The German Protestants were brought to the same point as the Irish Catholics, who in blind revenge opposed everything Protestant.

The result proved the impracticability of the edict. After six years of bloodshed, the Emperor was compelled to grant the abolition of it to Saxony and Brandenburg, and, after thirteen years more of fearful warfare, to all the other Protestants and Reformers; so that all that was effected by a nine years' contest was that the edict was torn to shreds.

And if the restoration of Church property had been honestly intended—that is, if it meant the restoration of it to its previous owners—this was by no means what was generally understood by it. If its confiscation was called robbery, it could not be made good by fresh plunder.

Most of the bishoprics belonged to religious orders in whose days the Jesuits did not exist, especially the numerous Benedictine abbeys. When these demanded the restitution of their property, it was already occupied by the Jesuits.

And it was just the same with the appointments to the archbishoprics and bishoprics. Instead of allowing the prelates to be elected as was prescribed by ancient regulations, archdukes and magnates of the house of Austria were always ready to take the places of the old owners.

The Emperor's blunder was soon punished, and in a way he did not anticipate.

The least that he expected to attain when he yielded to the entreaties of the Jesuits and the League, was the satisfaction of their increasingly inconvenient demands. But in this he was mistaken. When he now requested the League to withdraw or dismiss its armies for the relief of Franconia and Swabia, the Elector Max summoned a meeting of the League at Heidelberg; and, after dismissing a few troops in its name for the sake of appearance, demanded that the Emperor himself should disarm—that is, dismiss Wallenstein and dissolve his army, or at least summon a meeting of Electors to establish a speedy and secure peace.

The Edict of Restitution had induced the tamest members of the Protestant aristocracy to take up arms against the Emperor; all that was now wanting was to deprive him of the man who had set him upon his legs, to hurl him from the giddy heights to which he had climbed. And this was now to be accomplished.

There were numerous complaints against Wallenstein. His whole military system, his plan of making the countries in which his armies were encamped provide for them, was a fearful one. When they came into a district, not only the interest of capital, but capital itself was devoured. If his troops did not behave worse than others, the horrors occasioned by the dissolute bands of fierce soldiers were bad enough. The fire and destruction, the outrages upon women, the relentless cruelty towards every living thing, were not more horrible among his soldiers than among others, but generals looked with envy upon a camp which never lacked necessities, because a regular system of plunder and torture prevailed, while they who would have been ready

128 FIRST PHASE OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

enough to follow his example could never succeed in providing comfortably for the soldier.

The rulers had great reason to complain of him. He had offended them all by his scornful tone ; some of them he had driven from their countries, had made himself their ruler, and openly pursued a policy intended to exterminate all ruling princes, and to set up an aristocracy of successful soldiers under an imperial military dictatorship.* All classes were agreed in their hatred of Wallenstein ; the priests could not forgive him because he cared nothing for their conversions, and he sometimes exclaimed, "The devil and hell-fire take the priests." There was scarcely one of the Protestant party whose country he had not ruined, who had not had to famish while his head-quarters were rolling in luxury, and the League desired to avenge his treatment of Tilly, his open intention of thrusting it on one side, and, if possible, of utterly destroying it.

Thus a great storm was gathering around the "Dictator of Germany," as Max of Bavaria called the Duke of Friedland.

In June, 1630, the meeting of princes took place at Ratisbon—there were no Diets until 1640—and a long accusation was laid before it against Wallenstein, who was the cause of "all the trouble, disgrace, and scandal, of all the horrible and unheard-of military oppression." It demanded the dismissal of the imperial infantry and its leader. Among the most zealous of this party were the French embassy, who were present in consequence of an Italian business.

While the Emperor was considering whether he would enter into a contest with the ruling aristocracy and their allies, France, England, Sweden, Denmark, and Holland,

* For his plans with Tilly and Pappenheim, see Gfrörer's *Gustav Adolf*.

or give up his only support, Wallenstein had coolly taken measures for giving the law upon the battle-field in the first case.

He had divided his men, between 50,000 and 60,000, into two parts, and caused them to occupy highly suspicious posts in Alsace and Swabia, in order that at a given sign one division might attack Bavaria, the other France.

But it was not to come to this. Ferdinand, as the patron of a man like Wallenstein, did not venture on an enterprise which he might perhaps have undertaken as the commander of his own army. He granted his dismissal, and Wallenstein submitted without question.

It was a most critical decision. Just when the Edict of Restitution had ignited a fearful conflagration, when Gustavus Adolphus had already landed in Germany, the Emperor allowed himself to be compelled by his States to dismiss his general; and in this case it meant much more than the ordinary dismissal of a general—it deprived all his military force of their head. The army was the creation of Wallenstein. No longer kept together and paid by him, it would be dispersed, and this was abundantly proved in the succeeding period; in this case the Emperor would, as before, be dependent on the League, when he had been obliged to pledge his heritage to the Elector.

Seldom have great historical events followed in such close connection as in this case. During the same days of June when the Emperor was guilty of the imprudence of sacrificing Wallenstein to the League, Gustavus Adolphus landed on the shores of the Baltic, in order to summon the threatened Protestant elements under his banner.

Khevenhiller attributes these events to an intrigue of Richelieu, who, in order to bring to nought the growing power of the Hapsburgs, zealously advocated two measures

130 FIRST PHASE OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

—an edict for the restitution of all church property confiscated after the Treaty of Passau, and the dismissal of Wallenstein. The one was fatally to estrange from Ferdinand all the Protestant states, and thereby to cause perpetual schism in the empire ; the other, to deprive him of his most powerful weapon, and to render him defenceless against both foreign and domestic foes.

One thing is certain, that these results did take place, and the warning of the Elector of Saxony in 1629, that the Edict of Restitution would please no one but adverse foreign powers, was strikingly fulfilled.

PART IX.

SECOND PHASE OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.— GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

SWEDEN AND GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS.*

Sweden before Gustavus Adolphus.—Erich XIV., 1560-68.—John III., 1568-92, and Charles of Südermanland.—Charles as Regent, 1592-1604.—Charles IX. as King, 1604-11.—Gustavus Adolphus in Sweden, 1611-30.—Position of Affairs at the beginning of his Reign.—Political, Military, and Domestic Reforms.—Wars with Denmark, Russia, and Poland.—The Contest for the Baltic.

SWEDEN BEFORE GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS, 1560-1611.

GUSTAVUS VASA had risen from being a rebel and conspirator to be regent and king, and with wonderful ability had succeeded in two things—in founding a hereditary monarchy, and in providing the means for its stability by taking possession of the mediæval church property and incorporating it with the crown lands.

* Besides the literature mentioned in Chap. xii. : Pufendorf, *De rebus suec.* 1686. Geijer, *Geschichte Schwedens.* III. Bd. Gfrörer, *Gustav Adolf.* 1845. Helbig, *Gustav Adolf und der Kurfürst v. Sachsen,* 1854. 2 auf. Bensen, *Das Verhängniss Magdeburgs.* Also Droysen's *Aufsätze* : 1. *Ueber Magdeburgs Zerstörung.* 1631. 2. *Die Schlacht von Lützen in Forschungen zur Deutschen Geschichte* III. and V., and O. v. Guericke, *Belagerung Magdeburgs,* 1860.

132 SECOND PHASE OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

The poorest of countries became by these means one of the most wealthy; its trade, navigation, harbours, army, and fleet began to prosper; and the Swedes are right in regarding Gustavus Vasa as the founder of their greatness, though in his lifetime he never had the satisfaction of living on peaceful and happy terms with his people.

He left four sons, Eric, John, Magnus, and Charles—the last a child, the others youths—and so deeply rooted were the ancient Germanic views of inheritance in the mind of this mighty ruler, that, though he had spent a long life in the arduous task of founding a sole monarchy, at the close of his life he proceeded to the division of his work.

The eldest son, Eric, for whom he expressly intended the crown, did not appear to him adapted for the arduous task of governing; he therefore ordained that his brothers should assist him, and conferred power on them which, while it would not make them independent, would, he thought, impose a wholesome restraint on the power of their brother.

The result was as unsuccessful as possible. Gustavus Adolphus afterwards said, "My grandfather made a mistake: the King's brothers were too great for subjects—they were sure to strive to be masters."

A melancholy reign of eight years now began.

Eric XIV., though he possessed mind, talent, and acquirement, had something of that wild and stormy passion, breaking out into unaccountable actions, which was peculiar to some branches of this family, and which in some cases resulted in insanity; not only Eric, but Magnus also, died insane, and personages like Gustavus IV. and Charles XII. show how long such traits may remain in a family.

This did not at first appear plainly in Eric, but it was indicated by an impulsive feverish activity. Scarcely any

other monarch wrote and administered so much as he did. But his hasty, ill-considered acts appear like those of a morbidly excitable man, who throws himself into business to escape from his own humours.

Then a tendency appeared to a dangerous sort of extravagance, and after a few years of wretched government all the mischievous traits of his character gradually unfolded themselves. He surrounded himself with all sorts of unscrupulous persons, who assisted him in his passionate deeds.

Next, he took one and another for a conspirator ; his suspicions especially rested upon his brother John, who was an agreeable, popular man ; he imprisoned him, treated him like a criminal, but suddenly drew back from proceeding to extremities. Fear of conspiracy tormented him like an evil conscience, and there were only too many people ready to make sport of this unhappy tendency. His favourite, Pehrson, made quite a trade of it, and the King so far forgot himself as to commit reckless crimes.

He stabbed one of the Stures in prison, and had his distinguished fellow-prisoners slaughtered. Then anguish of mind drove him into the open air ; he wandered through the fields and woods in the garb of a peasant, knocked down his old tutor who accosted him, and then did penance by giving up his favourite to justice.

In a country which had only lately seen the establishment of royal authority, such a government could not be tolerated. In 1567 a ferment began to take place ; a conspiracy, which had been haunting men's minds, was actually formed ; the brothers, backed by the nobles, raised a revolt ; the burgher class, too, were weary of the King's mad acts.

In September, 1568, Eric was seized, and for nine years was dragged from prison to prison—the best method, of

134 SECOND PHASE OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

course, of producing complete insanity ; still, he was never looked upon as harmless. This murder by the State, of a man who was clearly not responsible, is unexampled in history. Seven years after his dethronement, the bishops and ministers declared that if the King did not cease to threaten the Government, and to furnish a pretext for revolt and disturbances, it would be the duty of his keepers to put him out of the way. In February, 1577, he died under circumstances which left no doubt that this hint was taken.

John then began to reign, together with his brother, Duke Charles of Südermanland.

John was, on the whole, lenient and well-meaning, but had very superficial views of his position and vocation. Charles, on the contrary, was cold, firm, severe, and reserved ; quite destitute of the winning characteristics of his father, which were, to a certain extent, inherited by John ; though in mind and political principles Charles most resembled him. As a youth of eighteen he came forward to help to dethrone his brother, and his whole character was stamped with determined ambition.

In 1688 this singular joint reign began, of two rulers who were constantly opposed to each other : and through their contradictions the inheritance of Gustavus Vasa seemed likely to be ruined.

By this division of the empire the most essential condition of a strong monarchical power was impaired ; it only remained for the regulation of ecclesiastical affairs, with which Gustavus Vasa had taken so much pains, to be called in question, and this was done by King John.

He was but little acquainted with this question, so vital for the young Swedish kingdom, and vacillated between Catholic and Protestant opinions. He had, however, read

a good deal on the subject superficially, and conceived an ambition similar to that of Henry VIII. He had a project for combining the two parties, then a particularly difficult task.

He felt the hierarchical system of the Catholic Church, and the majesty of her worship, to be imposing, and those about him favoured these sentiments. He had early married, against the will of his brother Eric, a Polish princess, who was a strict Catholic, had great influence over him, and did all she could to bring him over to her faith. Jesuits in disguise, who appeared to be good Lutherans, were daily about him, and at Rome his speedy conversion was confidently looked for. We have the instructions which were sent to the Jesuits to advance the work ; they were always to talk of faith, not of works, and to show that the Catholic Church really enjoined nothing different from the Protestant.

But Protestantism in Sweden was not merely a matter of opinion, which might be adjusted one way or the other according to individual needs ; it was a political fact of the greatest significance. The empire itself was based upon it ; and, even if the King was sincere in his schemes of mediation, he could not but get into a false position in being cool to a party with which the existence of the country was bound up ; and in coquetting with the other, which had no adherents in the country except his wife.

He made all sorts of futile efforts to effect a reconciliation which did not satisfy either party. He had Catholic changes introduced into public worship ; and in 1576 a new Liturgy appeared, which was based upon the new Mass book of the Council of Trent. Great opposition was made to this "Red book," as it was called by the people. He had hoped by its means to effect a reconciliation between the churches, but all the Swedish clergy

136 SECOND PHASE OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

declared against it, and yet it did not go half far enough to please the strict Catholics.

This retrograde tendency appeared more and more openly, and it made the King's position in the country all the more difficult. The people said, "The King is secretly a Jesuit, and wants to make us all Catholics;" and the growing boldness of the Jesuit preachers, the abolition of the Lutheran Catechism, and the ostentation with which the Queen adhered to their faith, seemed to confirm the suspicion.

When the Queen died, in 1583, the Protestant bishop, with a courage which would do honour to any Court theologian of to-day, showed so little tact as to laud her as a staunch Catholic. Though the King now suddenly turned round, and expelled the Jesuits from the country, yet he obstinately held fast to the "Red book."

In another important point John was untrue to the traditions of his father. In the struggle with the Church, Gustavus Vasa had not been able to dispense with the aid of the secular nobles, and had therefore been obliged to give them a share of the spoil of the Church property. But it was to be a final concession, and no further interference from them with the rights of the Crown or the country were to be tolerated. But on this point John's conduct was at least ambiguous. He favoured the privileges of the nobles, allowed them to divert public justice to the advantage of their class, lightened their obligations to the Crown, and the service of their vassals, thereby increasing the burdens of the burgher class and free peasants, who dreaded a new government by the aristocracy; and, though this made the sentiments of all more in favour of a monarchy, it none the less estranged them from the monarch himself.

From these two mistakes in the internal administration

arose a still more serious complication in the foreign policy.

King John, who had once been himself attracted by the worthless crown of Poland, conceived the idea, after it had escaped his hands, of making his son, Sigismund, King of Poland—that is, of transplanting him into a country where Catholicism and government by the nobles prevailed unhindered, and where the state of things was quite different from that of Sweden.

The republic of Poland was already on the road to ruin ; the crown was not worth having. The first principles of a real political administration would have to be settled ; the arbitrariness of the nobles and disruption of parties was beyond all bounds, and a foreign king would be betrayed and sold.

It was inconceivable that a man in his senses should entertain the idea of combining with the difficult position in Sweden the still more difficult one in Poland. The result would certainly be that the Swedish crown would be lost, and the Polish one not gained.

Poland was then a decidedly Catholic State—at any rate its ruling elements were Catholic ; the King must, therefore, be so too ; and so the heir of a thoroughly Protestant country, who could scarcely tolerate the lukewarm Protestantism of its king, took, in 1587, the ominous step of going over to Catholicism in order to be King of Poland.

There was one man who knew how to take advantage of these embarrassments which the King created for himself ; but it was also for the advantage of Sweden and the work of Gustavus Vasa ; this was Charles of Südermanland, the youngest son of Gustavus, a cool, clever, moderate statesman, who opposed every one of his brother's mistakes.

John introduced the " Red book : " Charles forbade its use.

138 SECOND PHASE OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

John tried to unite the two churches: Charles adhered strictly to Lutheranism, and granted hospitality to all victims of persecution. John favoured the nobles: Charles checked them. In short, Charles was the decided and persevering representative of the traditions of Gustavus Vasa, which were ignored by John; and was, therefore, the spokesman of all those who were displeased with John's behaviour, especially of the peasant and burgher class—of all the patriots to whose hearts modern Sweden was dear, and whose existence or non-existence was in fact at stake.

When Sigismund was made King of Poland, or rather protector of the Polish aristocracy and their so-called constitution, the Swedish nobles held up their heads. It was well known what would be granted by the Polish King to those who elected him, and they tried to obtain the same in Sweden. Just as the King of Poland was about to embark, a plan was handed to him, the object of which was nothing less than the establishment of a Polish-Swedish constitution, which simply set aside the monarchy of Gustavus Vasa. They intended to gain over King John by accepting his favourite Liturgy; and to secure the joint government of the nobles, they proposed the establishment of a Parliament in which seven of the chief of them should take it in turn, for from two to five years, partly to exercise some of the most important prerogatives of the Crown, partly to guard them. John and Sigismund were weak enough to approve the scheme. It was justly characterized by Gustavus Adolphus when he said that "they wanted to stab King John and Duke Charles with one spear, and thus to get rid of them both."

John left behind him, in 1592, a distracted kingdom. His son was away; the people and the nobles split up into factions; everything insecure.

In this time of perplexity, Charles's activity began ; ambition persuaded him that his path to the throne was open, and that he alone was walking in the steps of his father. He thrust aside the clamorous nobles, with their proposed Senate. Parliament might advise according to Swedish law, but the duty of ruling belonged to the sovereign, and in his absence it became his own duty to fill the post. When the King was for a short time in the country, he made him take an oath to protect its religion and laws, and, in accordance with the wishes of the States, the laws against the Catholics were made more stringent. From 1592-1604, one difficulty follows closely on another. The King could not carry on the government of two countries ; he was compelled to appoint a regent, but his resolute and ambitious uncle was made governor of the land, not the Senate of seven nobles.

With the aid of the peasantry, he systematically opposed the nobles ; and with the aid of Protestantism, the King and Court. At a solemn assembly of the Diet, at Upsala, February, 1593, attended by a great number of ecclesiastics, the irrevocable determination of the people was expressed to abide by pure Lutheran teaching, and everything was abolished which had tended to question the supremacy of the Reformation during the reign of King John. Angermann, the vehement opponent of the "Red book," was made archbishop ; all Catholic innovations were abolished, and the Lutheran Catechism reinstated.

This was clearly a manifesto against the Catholic Sigismund, but a still plainer one was to be issued. The King in Poland did all he could to embarrass his uncle, and a party of defiant noblemen who lusted for Polish freedom held to him, while Duke Charles openly joined the great party of his father, that of the burghers and peasants. In

140 SECOND PHASE OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

the Senate he addressed them, not the nobles; and with their countenance he upset the obnoxious project.

All the instigations of the Catholic camarilla and of the ambitious nobles were met by the Swedish peasants with the simple answer, One was master in the country, and he was ruling in the spirit of Gustavus Vasa! Once more the courageous Dalecarlians were the chief support of the monarchy. It came at last to a sanguinary collision.

The battle of Stäugebro, September, 1598, went entirely against Sigismund, and his flight left his followers to the Regent's revenge. The Diet of 1604 conferred on him the crown of Sweden. Charles IX. reigned after this for seven stormy years.

Since 1560, Sweden had had no real king who could keep down faction and foster the interests of the country. All that had been accomplished by Gustavus Vasa—the establishment of regal power, careful administration of the laws, and a military force—had had a severe shock; even the religious revolution had been endangered. Charles had all this to restore, while he was kept in suspense by three wars. The perpetual difficulties with Sigismund took him to Livonia, where he was compelled to break off the contest, in which he was at first successful, by attacks from Russia and Denmark. He was a broken-down old man, who had almost lost the power of speech, when Christian IV. invaded the country with a great force; and when Charles died, in October, 1611, not one of the recent difficulties was adjusted.

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS IN SWEDEN, 1611-30.

He was succeeded by his son Gustavus Adolphus, who was called upon in his seventeenth year to undertake a

most difficult task. It was not his lot to be greeted by the unanimous acclamations of a happy and contented people ; he was the heir of irreconcilable hatred and numerous complications. His father had had many enemies, and had increased their number by his conflicts with Sigismund and the aristocracy ; all the Catholic party hated him and his house ; the resources of the country were low ; his right to the throne disputed ; the kingdom involved in wars with Poland, Russia, and Denmark. Yet, in the course of twenty years, Gustavus Adolphus had triumphed over all his foes, and established a sovereign power which was in a position to take a decisive part in the great contest of the age, and which it required much misfortune and stupidity to overthrow.

He was born on the 19th of December, 1594, in the midst of his father's struggle for the crown, and he took pains to accustom his son to these rough and stormy times. When he was eleven years old, he took him with him to the sittings of the Senate, and allowed him to attend and even speak at his audiences. An interest in military life was early awakened in him. There was ample opportunity to cultivate this taste at his father's Court, which was visited by officers from almost all the European Courts, and the campaigns in which he took part completed the course of instruction. At the same time, his father took care that his successor should receive a careful mental training and learned education, such as, in the variety of subjects it embraced, no other northern monarch had yet enjoyed. While still quite young, he spoke Latin, German, Dutch, French, and Italian fluently, amused himself with Xenophon, and diligently studied Hugo Grotius. With all this early familiarity with politics, war, and learning, physical training was not neglected.

142 SECOND PHASE OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

In short, the old king* might regard his successor with pride; he was leaving behind him a second Gustavus Vasa.

The young king's first task was to heal the disorders of fifty years, which existed in every department of the State.

The most difficult task was the restoration of healthy relations with the nobles. His father had sent many a seditious nobleman to the scaffold, which had sown the seeds of fearful hatred, and was not the path to successful reorganization.

Gustavus Adolphus took the kingdom upon himself "with two empty hands," as it was said in his funeral sermon. With three wars on hand, he had neither money nor trustworthy troops. Both had to be raised, and it could only be done by a reorganization of his relations with the nobles. With their large landed property, their vassals, and legal and administrative privileges, they were practically exempt from taxation, and, though thoroughly warlike, they were entirely unaccustomed to military service as followers of the King. It was necessary that this state of things should cease, and that it should be accomplished, not by violence, but by agreement and treaty, if the citizens and peasants were not to succumb to the burden of taxation, and the State itself to be divided up into a number of aristocratic courts under "provincial kings."

The war with Denmark, which came to an end in 1613, was so unsuccessful mainly because the nobles furnished the King neither with men nor money. The King reminded them, in an address which he made to them clad in armour, that they only received their privileges in return for "equestrian service," and that he, who, instead of doing his

* From the admonitions, written and spoken, which he addressed to his son, it appears what a high-minded spirit this rough, harsh ruler possessed.

duty in the field, had preferred to stay by the stuff, had, according to Swedish law, forfeited his privileges.

After various negotiations, often interrupted, he at length succeeded in establishing permanent, well-regulated relations, which both parties found to be to their advantage.

The King, in the main, permitted the nobles to retain their traditional privileges, and even granted them a new one, by the establishment of an Upper House ; but he was in earnest in compelling them to join the army, and effected that they should not be behind the other classes in money contributions.

The Swedish nobles had always been a warlike race ; every nobleman was a soldier, and the greatest lords always came to attend the meetings of Parliament with hundreds of horses. But the sovereign had hitherto only experienced the dark side of this feature of Swedish chivalry—defiant demands, and unpatriotic self-sufficiency. Under Gustavus Adolphus all this was changed within certain limits. The nobles found themselves an acknowledged power, and on good terms with the Crown ; their warlike ambition was no longer in contradiction to their class feelings and privileges ; they soon considered it an honour to serve this chivalrous King, as leader of the nation's forces ; and the King, as the representative of the army as well as of the people, appeared even in the Senate in armour. In 1627 the relations between them had become so cordial that the nobles, who already took a share of most of the taxes, took upon themselves to furnish recruits for the general levy from their estates.

This was the result of the prudent and personally winning manner in which Gustavus Adolphus went to work. It had never been thus in Sweden before, and has never been so since. All his successors have split upon this rock.

With these weapons Gustavus Adolphus fought his way

144 SECOND PHASE OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

through two great wars, by the end of which Sweden was the first great power in the north, and was competent to take her place as arbiter in Europe.

While these things were being slowly matured, Gustavus had undertaken energetic creative reforms in other spheres. The administration and the whole legal system had undergone a thorough revolution ; the former was committed to carefully chosen officials, under proper control ; for the latter, new rules and new municipal laws were introduced, as a completion of the common law of Charles IX. Two courts of appeal were also established against the sentences of the district courts and the patrimonial judges. In legal matters the sentiments of Gustavus Adolphus were those of a really great ruler. In a dispute which was tried between him and a nobleman, he said to the judges, " Forget that I am King ; but do not forget that you are the highest judges in the land, and let your consciences pass sentence." And as they decided against him, he asked for the documents, convinced himself that he had been in the wrong, and commended the judges for their conscientiousness. In a protocol of the Supreme Court of 5th November, 1618, are the words : " His Majesty admonishes the royal courts of justice not to take the side of any party. If any one of the judges should turn aside the law in favour of the King or of any one else, let him know that it is his Majesty's intention to have him scalped, his head nailed to the seat of judgment, and his ears to the pillory."

The administration of public justice also underwent a change little in accordance with modern liberalism, but all the more in unison with the strictly military monarchy of the Sweden of that day.

By a new regulation of the Diet, which was accepted by the States assembled at Oerobrö in January, 1617, the right

of initiative was conferred exclusively on the Crown. The Crown only could bring forward motions, and no other subjects were discussed. Each estate deliberated by itself, and the King pronounced the decision. The Diet was no longer the scene of the intrigues which had occasioned so many difficulties to Charles IX.; its power had, in fact, vanished, and this, as well as the new legal system, formed a counterpoise to the privileges of the nobles.

Together with this organization, untiring efforts were made to advance the prosperity of the oppressed people.

Ruined cities, such as Gothenburg, were rebuilt; sixteen new ones founded, and their prosperity secured by good constitutions and mercantile privileges; navigation, commerce, and the export of the products of the country—timber, copper, iron, pitch, and tar—were encouraged; restrictions imposed on the introduction of foreign manufactures; Swedish products were introduced into the great markets by means of commercial treaties; so that in 1614 Sweden maintained active intercourse with Holland, and after 1624 Swedish merchants conveyed pitch, iron, planks, and rye in their own ships as far as Spain. Skilful foreigners were attracted to the country; one of these found means to raise the mines of Sweden to a high state of prosperity; and the King established a manufactory of arms and military requisites on a large scale. All this brought the fact to light that a people who had hitherto been supposed to be exclusively adapted for war, agriculture, and fishing, under judicious guidance could develop a capacity for industrial pursuits of every kind.

The dark background of this active creative life is formed by the three sanguinary wars which Gustavus Adolphus inherited from his father, in which he, his state, and army, had to stand a fiery ordeal.

146 SECOND PHASE OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

These wars, as well as the war in Germany, were especially aimed at the acquisition of dominion over the Baltic; it was Gustavus Adolphus who projected this as a leading idea of Swedish policy, and he pursued it with remarkable success.

When he entered upon this project all the south of Sweden was still in the hands of the Danes, together with the keys of the Baltic and the North Sea, Calmar and Elfsborg. Sweden was quite shut out from the sea. In this situation every attack of the Danes threatened the existence of the whole country, and this explains the obstinate war into which the young King was compelled to enter at the very beginning of his reign, in which neither party was victorious, though it caused unspeakable desolation in Sweden. By the Treaty of Knäröd, January, 1613, both parties had to give up what they had taken from the other. Sweden received, under the form of a purchase, for one million dollars, the highly important points of Calmar, Oeland, Elfsborg, and the surrounding country. This was the first step towards the creation of the Swedish naval power.

The war with Russia was more successful.

With the revolt of Michael Romanow, in 1613, Russia began to free herself from the troubles occasioned by pretenders to the throne, foreign interference, and the immigration of foreign nations. Still it was but the beginning of a normal political life; no power existed sufficient to oppose Gustavus Adolphus. The Swedes were everywhere victorious, and peace was bought at a very high price. By the Treaty of Stolbowa, February, 1617, Sweden received Carelia, Ingermanland, and Livonia; that is, Russia lost the Baltic.

This was an immense success. With just pride Gustavus Adolphus could say to his Parliament, in the spring of

1617, "Not the least of the benefits which God has granted Sweden is that Russia must for ever give up the robbers' den from which she has so often molested us. She is a dangerous neighbour; her frontiers extend along the North and the Caspian Sea and approach the Black Sea; she has a powerful aristocracy, a superfluity of peasants, populous cities, and can send large armies into the field. But she cannot send any vessel into the Baltic Sea without our leave. We are separated from her by the great Lakes of Ladoga and Peipus, thirty miles of marsh and strong fortresses. Russia is shut out from the Baltic, and I hope to God that the Muscovite will henceforth find it difficult to leap over this brook."

Sweden then possessed all those points to which the Russian Empire afterwards extended itself, the main part of the territory which Peter the Great acquired for Russia for ever. Sweden made good her claims upon Livonia, seized parts of Courland and Esthonia, conquered one Polish and Prussian harbour after another, and finally received, at the Peace of Westphalia, the mouths of the Oder, the Weser, and the Elbe, Pomerania, Bremen, and Verden—in short, "the whole bastion of the Crown of Sweden," as Axel Oxenstierna expressed it. It was an immense district on the Baltic coasts, in the power of a State hitherto the poorest of all in coast territory.

The third and last war with Poland lasted till 1629. The enmity between Poland and Sweden was vastly increased by the contest about the right to the throne of the two lines of Vasa. In Poland the King of Sweden was called a usurper. Sigismund's Catholic followers joined cause with all the foes of Gustavus Adolphus, and the Polish coast of the Baltic was quite enough to become an apple of discord. The last war was also the most successful for Sweden.

148 SECOND PHASE OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

By the truce which ended it in 1629, Sweden received Elbing, Braunsberg, Pillau, Memel, and her claims were recognised to the Baltic territory.

During this warlike period of eighteen years, not only had a vast empire been conquered, a school of generals and warriors had been trained such as had not been seen in Europe since the decline of the Spanish school. Yet, singularly enough, when the news came to Vienna of the landing of Gustavus Adolphus, they looked in the State Almanack to see where the country of the little Gothic king was situated.

CHAPTER XXXV.

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS IN GERMANY, 1630-32.

Origin and Significance of the Swedish War.—Motives, Political and Religious, of Gustavus Adolphus.—Characteristics of him and his Army.—Their Landing and First Successes, June—December, 1630.—Gustavus Adolphus in Pomerania.—Siege of Stettin; Treaty with Duke Bogeslav.—Tedious Advance into Pomerania.—Imperial troops driven out of Pomerania, December, 1630.—Treaty of Barwalde, January, 1631.—Convention of Leipzig, and Fall of Magdeburg, May, 1631.—Electoral Brandenburg and Electoral Hesse join Gustavus Adolphus, June—August.—Battle of Breitenfeld, September 7, 1631.—Victorious March of Gustavus Adolphus towards South and West Germany, October—December, 1631.—Plans for Restoration.—Overthrow of the Power of the League.—Return of Wallenstein, April, 1632.—Battle of Lützen, 16th November, 1632.—Death of Gustavus Adolphus and its Significance.

ORIGIN AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE WAR.

THE invasion of Germany by Gustavus Adolphus was a result of the protection he had afforded to Stralsund against Wallenstein, and this protection was a result of his relations with the Baltic and with the Reformation. He could never hope to rule the Baltic so long as Mecklenburg and Pomerania were in the hands of the imperial party, and the opposition Polish king had a support in the Hapsburgs—indeed his own kingdom would be endangered if the Catholic Restoration were not energetically opposed.

The same controversy about which the world-wide war

150 SECOND PHASE OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

in Germany had broken out, was raging in Sweden ; it was only the iron grasp of Charles IX. which had kept the monarchy of Gustavus Vasa above water ; and the country on the other side of the Baltic was the seat of perpetual intrigues to undo his work. If this were allowed to go on, a time would come when his own kingdom would be in the same danger as the little states of North Germany.

And this was no idle dream. Since Wallenstein's successes, the wings of the reaction had almost overshadowed the Scandinavian States.

The Emperor Ferdinand and his brother-in-law, Sigismund, had been eagerly discussing how Sweden could be made Catholic ; at what point the attempt at conversion which King John had been compelled to give up, had best be taken up again ; and they had great hopes of attaining their end. The truce which had cost Poland so many losses on the Baltic, lasted purposely until Sigismund, with the aid of the Emperor, had recruited his strength, and for years the latter had openly taken part in Poland against Gustavus Adolphus.

There were also pressing Swedish interests which impelled Gustavus to join in the contest, and to overlook these would be to misunderstand the position of affairs. But these were not his only points of view.

In one respect Gustavus Adolphus was a unique personage in this century ; he was animated by the fresh, unbroken youthful spirit of the early days of the Reformation, like that which characterized such men as Frederic of Saxony and Philip of Hesse. If it can be said of any ruler in the first half of the seventeenth century, that he was filled with Protestant zeal and sincere enthusiasm for the greatness of his cause, it may be said of him, and of him alone. To a world full of mean artifices, miserable intrigues, and narrow-

minded men, he exhibited once more the qualities and characteristics of a true hero.

This explains why he called forth enthusiasm where it had been for many decades unknown—why he succeeded in kindling men's minds for ideas which had been engulfed in the miseries of the times. Sacred things were no idle sport with him. Because he was himself in earnest with his prayers and religion, the divine worship which was held, the spiritual songs and psalms that were sung in his camp, had power to restrain the terrible brute strength of his army ; but it was he alone who succeeded in it, not one of his successors could do so.

His mind was also large enough in a fearfully demoralised age to go back to the origin of the peaceful relations which had existed between the adherents of the different creeds for more than half a century. He alone proclaimed the principle that the object was not mutual destruction, but the restoration of the law as it existed before the war ; he alone restored their rights to the Protestants without encroaching on those of the Catholics. This was something in a contest in which both parties had become so fearfully embittered. He could justly say to the princes and nobles at Nuremberg, " For shame, that I, the foreigner, must teach you your natural duty ! "

It was this that gave importance to the following war. During the whole period Gustavus was the only person to whom men could look up, who could inspire them with enthusiasm. The Catholic party did not produce any individual of equal greatness to confront him. This gave to Protestantism, in the days of its deepest dejection, an unaccustomed impetus, and the part played by this one man is shown by the retrogression which took place only too quickly after his death.

152 SECOND PHASE OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

There is another point on which this episode is of importance. It was not only that the weight of a great and powerful personage was thrown into the scale, that of a king and a general to whom no one, and least of all Ferdinand II., could be compared; Gustavus Adolphus commanded the only army in this war which either did not soon get beyond discipline and control, or at any rate throw off its distinctive creed. Who could call the armies around him, or after him, either Catholic or Protestant? In the imperial armies there were masses of Protestant hirelings, especially in those of Wallenstein, and as many Catholics among the troops of their opponents. The most deplorable thing in this war was, that, especially after the fourth decade, those who were carrying it on had entirely forgotten its origin—that everything had been engulfed in passion and tumult, and that religion had only become a blasphemous pretext for horrible devastation and plunder.

All this was quite otherwise in the army of Gustavus Adolphus. Even after his death it continued to be brave and well commanded, though there was no one capable of keeping up its spirit, its inner life, as he had done.

The armies of his adversaries consisted of collections of rabble without country or conscience. His army was a national Swedish one; his soldiers were Sweden's brave peasants, led by their chivalrous nobles. All the national enthusiasm of the people and the aristocracy lived in these hosts, and this was a most important factor against the hireling troops, who looked for nothing in war but plunder, debauchery, and excess.

The Swedish army was also religious. It was Lutheran, like its King, and every feature indicated that it was so. The neglected levers of the sixteenth century were still in use. "Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott," "A mighty castle is our God,"

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS AND HIS ARMY. 153

was sung, understood, and sympathized with. What a fearful contrast were the lawless bands who, in the name of the one true faith, tore our unhappy country to pieces !

This gave a consecration to this war. Gustavus Adolphus managed to control the wild lawless masses by higher motives ; sentiments of nationality and religion had some weight with them. All this was changed by his death. After this, when a battle was lost, some of the Swedes took service under the Emperor, and they were in no way behind the other soldiers in barbarity towards defenceless citizens and peasants.

It was this which conferred on the war of 1630 a peculiar greatness, notwithstanding its short duration, and caused it soon to lose the character of a mere invasion. Gustavus Adolphus became a leading personage, Sweden a commanding power in Europe. This arose from his personal character, the character of his army, and the moral power of both over Catholics and Protestants. Even the Pope did homage to the hero, and said, on hearing of his death, " A hero, a perfect man, who wanted nothing for perfection but the true faith."

There was nothing of this spirit to be found anywhere else. Who would venture to call a Wallenstein, a Tilly, or a Pappenheim, a Catholic hero ?

LANDING AND FIRST SUCCESSES, JUNE—DECEMBER, 1630.

The situation of affairs in which Gustavus Adolphus now began to take part has been characterized by our previous remarks.

The power of the League had been for two years on the decline, and the Emperor had done all that was in his power to weaken it. He had created for himself the embarrassment occasioned by the Edict of Restitution, and

thereby driven the Protestant states into the enemy's camp, and now he had dismissed Wallenstein into the bargain.

In so far, then, the situation was more favourable than ever. Had Gustavus come three years earlier, when Wallenstein was victorious on the Baltic, the Edict not yet issued, and the League still strong in the field, the struggle would have been a desperate one.

It was by no means a slight one as it was, and there was something so adventurous in the commencement of the undertaking, that any less courageous person must have shrunk from it. In Sweden, except the King and his impatient officers, there was not a man for the war. The country was recovering itself, after the sacrifices and sufferings of eighteen years of warfare, and was now to be involved in another great war, the end of which no one could foresee. Parliament would not be convinced that instead of adhering to a watchful defensive policy towards the Emperor, it was necessary to adopt an offensive attitude exposed to a thousand dangers. The States declared that there was no money, and tormented the King with their blunt refusals until immediately before his departure.

After the hated King's back was turned, Denmark seemed disposed to attack the country; and, until there was some result to show, nothing but smooth words came from France, England, and Holland; and nothing whatever was to be expected from the German princes whom it was intended to aid.

The Duke of Pomerania, to whom Gustavus Adolphus hoped to appear in the light of a liberator, sent an embassy to him just as he was about to embark, urgently to entreat him to stay at home, or, at all events, not to land in Pomerania, for the country was already nearly ruined, and could not stand the passage of troops again.

On 24th June, 1630, exactly one hundred years after the presentation of the Confession of Augsburg, Gustavus Adolphus appeared before the island of Usedom, and at once began to disembark his troops and artillery.

He was preceded by a manifesto, which set forth all his causes of complaint against the Emperor Ferdinand, and explained that the King came to protect liberty in general, which was threatened by Hapsburg, and in particular that of the German Electors, who had just presented their ultimatum to the Emperor at Ratisbon.

The project was certainly well enough conceived, but still it produced no immediate result.

Germany was invaded by a splendid force of 20,000 or 30,000 men, but the German empire remained to be conquered. Suppose the feeling should be, Away with the foreigner, who could find fault with it? Suppose the Germans, who had been tearing each other's eyes out, should now make peace to avoid the disgrace of foreign intervention, who could regard it as anything but an act of reasonable self-defence? Such sentiments did here and there arise. It was asked, "What will become of us if strangers insinuate themselves amongst us and meddle in our affairs?" But these feelings were not strong enough to unite parties, or to oppose a compact front to the foreigner.

Still, he was regarded with suspicion and distrust; only if it came to the worst would the Protestants side with him. The attitude of Saxony and Brandenburg towards the Emperor, or rather their want of a decided attitude, was the result of mere weakness, and fear withheld them from risking anything for Sweden. The other Protestant elements were isolated. The Landgrave of Hesse Cassel was a long way off, and could not render any help, for he wanted help himself. The imperial cities of South Germany looked

156 SECOND PHASE OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

eagerly towards Gustavus Adolphus, but could do nothing at so great a distance: their adherence would only be possible if great victories brought him to South Germany.

The King was therefore in utter isolation on German soil; and not only so, his line of retreat was quite insecure. His great distance from home, the watchful enmity of Denmark and Poland, who were only awaiting a favourable moment for attack, could but lead to a fatal catastrophe if he met with a decided repulse half way.

Under such circumstances, it required a bold, adventurous spirit to undertake the invasion, and much prudence and foresight not to make shipwreck at the very outset.

Gustavus Adolphus was quite equal to the task. He proceeded like a man who accurately weighs every consideration and the means at his disposal, and, knowing that he cannot retrace his path, advances only step by step, and sometimes by circuitous paths.

The imperial army under Conti, which opposed him in Pomerania and Mecklenburg, might be equal, if not superior, to his in numbers. It was in possession of all the places which it had won during the successful warfare of several years, but it was deprived of the great leader who had created and kept it together. It suffered from hunger, desertion, and discouragement, was widely scattered, in part given up by its leaders, and therefore it melted away day by day, and was ill adapted to repulse a resolute, well-conducted attack, though it made any advance into the country very difficult.

The first success of Gustavus worth naming, after taking the islands of Rügen and Wollin by surprise, was the occupation of Stettin in July.

It took place under circumstances which were striking enough. The Protestant population trembled at the horrors

which had been connected with every occupation by foreign troops, whether Catholic or Protestant. Bogeslav feared the Emperor's reprisals if a change should take place, and threatened hostilities if the Swedes did not keep themselves at a respectful distance. But Gustavus would not be repulsed, rejected every proposal of neutrality, and so pressed the anxious Duke that with a heavy heart he at length granted them entrance. The Swedes behaved admirably; they were not, like other troops, quartered on the citizens, but lived in tents, went peacefully with the inhabitants to church, and, with great energy, in four days constructed a system of fortifications round the town which might have served for a model, not for that period only.

At the same time a treaty was concluded between Sweden and Pomerania, which not only established a perpetual alliance, but dexterously provided that in the event of Duke Bogeslav's death Pomerania should fall to Sweden, which afterwards took place.

This was the beginning of the tedious warfare by means of which Gustavus Adolphus spread his forces over Pomerania, Mecklenburg, and Brandenburg. Napoleon considered him to be the greatest general of all times, chiefly because, during a dangerous and tedious campaign, from June, 1630, to the autumn of 1631, he advanced slowly, but surely, towards the centre of Germany without suffering any repulse worth mentioning. It was upon these tactics that the whole fate of his undertaking depended; not a single false step must be made. And this solves the much-disputed question why he did not relieve Magdeburg while it was still possible to do so.

Magdeburg was certainly an important place as the capital of North Germany, and the most prosperous seat of Protestantism. But important as he must have considered its

158 SECOND PHASE OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

fate, he could not sacrifice his existence, the results of three great wars, the army which it had taken him nineteen years to create, by placing himself between two fires, and involving himself in a catastrophe which the authorities of the city had brought upon themselves by culpable imprudence.

Nothing occurred during the summer of 1630 but an advance step by step into North Germany. It took months to get the whole of Pomerania into his hands, and to conquer every town, and months more before he had gained a firm footing in Brandenburg.

So difficult was the situation that his own brother-in-law, in Brandenburg, afterwards only allowed a few fortresses to be taken from him by force.

On 24th December a decisive blow was struck at the flower of the imperial troops, who, tortured by cold and hunger, were lying between Greifenhagen and Garz. The whole of Pomerania, with the exception of Colberg and Greifswald, and part of Neumark, was now in his power ; but his only allies were Francis of Saxe Lauenburg, the exiled Dukes of Mecklenburg, the Administrator Christian William of Magdeburg, and Bogeslav of Pomerania ; with the exception of the latter, princes without land.

The most laborious part of the campaign was now over, and it had become obvious to every one that the Swedish war was no repetition of the unhappy Danish one, which had been conducted without the least skill or success. In the present instance resolute determination and prudent foresight were singularly combined.

TREATY OF BÄRWALDE, JANUARY, 1631.—CONVENTION OF LEIPZIG AND FALL OF MAGDEBURG, MAY, 1631.—VICTORY OF BREITENFELD, SEPTEMBER, 1631.

With the beginning of the new year a new ally appeared, who was not without value—Cardinal Richelieu. He could do pretty much what he pleased in France, and was in a position to entertain the idea of renewing the foreign policy of Henry IV., Henry II., and Francis I. France had neither finances nor army for independent intervention. If she desired, therefore, to take a part in European affairs, she must ally herself with some foreign military ruler, and Gustavus Adolphus appeared to be the man.

He was in want of money, for his resources were still very limited, and as a foreigner he seemed adapted to support the acquisitive schemes in which France indulged in the name of "German liberty." He might perhaps be employed as a battering ram for the French policy. Richelieu gave Gustavus credit for being what Bernhard of Weimar was afterwards to be, and what the Swedes at last actually became; and there did not now seem to be much cause to anticipate failure on his part.

But Richelieu found his master in Gustavus Adolphus. France had hitherto known nothing of a "King" of Sweden, for the rulers of that country did not wear their crowns by the grace of God, only by the election of the States and people. Gustavus declared at once that only as King would he negotiate, and Richelieu was obliged to yield.

And, what was of more importance, he was also obliged to make important concessions. His endeavour to obtain an influence over the conduct of affairs was futile. All that he could obtain was a promise from Gustavus that he would nowhere attack the Catholic Church as such, and

160 SECOND PHASE OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

would otherwise restore everything to its previous condition of peace. Even the cession of a slice of Germany on the French frontier, which Richelieu desired to have for the protection of German liberty, was refused. "Not a village shall the French have," said Gustavus Adolphus.

Thus he had fully accomplished his object. France granted him subsidies in the name of their common interests; but the political and military leadership belonged solely to Sweden. The Treaty of Bärwalde (January, 1631) was therefore a great diplomatic victory for Gustavus Adolphus. It provided him with the means of carrying on the war, while he fully maintained his independence.

Meanwhile the contest about the fortresses continued. By the spring the King had made two important conquests—that of Colberg in March, and of Frankfort-on-the-Oder in April.

Consciousness began to dawn upon the Protestant States which had not yet joined either side, that the time was come for them to take an independent course. The Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, as the chief representatives of German Protestantism, and yet not favourable to Sweden, both severely menaced by the Edict of Restitution, were now compelled to adopt a decisive policy. The Protestant States of South Germany were in the same position; they had everything to fear from Catholic restoration, and little to hope for from Sweden. For both these groups there was a common programme prescribed by the nature of the case—armed neutrality, for the protection of Protestantism against the Emperor, of the German nation against the foreigner. Since the dismissal of Wallenstein the imperial arms had been everywhere at a disadvantage. The League, or rather the Elector of Bavaria, maintained a policy of delay which displayed little zeal for the Emperor.

If the King of Sweden had to halt before Saxony and Brandenburg, he would be left in the lurch. If these adversaries united to form a compact mass, and said to the Emperor, "We will keep to the religious peace, and have nothing to do with the foreigner," there would be a prospect of a peace which would satisfy both the religious and national demands of Germany. Armed mediation is certainly often the most thankless policy; but under some circumstances it alone can turn the scale. The means of those upon whom it depended were quite sufficient; but then there must be no delay in collecting and using them; and, above all things, it must not be imagined that the end would be attained by boastful speeches and endless scribbling. This simple and obvious policy was pursued with great firmness by a man who has been much censured and misunderstood, Count Arnim von Boytzenburg.*

In February a convention took place at Leipzig, at which there was a brilliant assemblage of Protestant States, and they discussed the subject of a common programme till May.

Neither of the military parties took part in it—neither the League nor Gustavus Adolphus. The Jesuits jeered, and published mocking fugitive pieces,† because they perceived the danger of success, and Gustavus Adolphus

* Until 1629 he was in Wallenstein's army, after 1631 an Electoral Field-Marshal. Upon his continued relations with Wallenstein, see Gftörer, who seems to overlook the fact that in the existing position of affairs, it was quite a different thing to be in connection with Wallenstein and with the Court of Vienna.

† For instance:—

"The poor little Lutheran princes
Are holding a little convention at Leipzig.
Who is there? A princeling and a half.
What are they going to do? Make a little war.
Who's going to lead it? The little King of Sweden.
Who'll find the money? Topsy George of Saxony. [Whom

162 SECOND PHASE OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

set his Chemnitz to negotiate, because he foresaw that if their end were obtained, all that he had attained would be lost.

But the helpless indecision of the princes and their ministers took good care that the one thing should not happen which could have given Germany peace by German means. After discussions which lasted for months, great festivities and carousals, the assembly broke up without the smallest result. The decision with which they finally consoled themselves was simply ridiculous. They had intended to form a league, but instead of that they reckoned up what number of troops each party could bring in case they should form a league some other time.

A religious discussion also took place. Of course no agreement was come to; but a praiseworthy promise was given to treat each other better in future than they had hitherto done. The Convention of Leipzig is best described by one who took part in it: "For four weeks we feasted and caroused like excellent Christians, and can say, like the bishop who cut his finger, 'Quantum patimur pro Jesu Christo.'"

Meanwhile the League had roused itself up. Tilly had joined Pappenheim, who was besieging Magdeburg, and before Gustavus Adolphus arrived the city was taken,

Whom will it please? Little Palatine Fritz.

What's it all about? His little nest at Heidelberg."

—RAUMER, Vol. III.

"Die armen lutherischen Fürstelein

Halten zu Leipzig ein Conventelein.

Wer ist dabei? Anderthalb Fürstelein.

Wer sollen sie anfahen? Ein klein Krjegelein.

Wer soll's führen? Das schwedisch Königlein.

Wer wird's geld geben? Das sächsisch Biörgglein.

Wer wird sich dessen freuen? Das pfälzisch Fritzlein.

Warum ist's zu thun? Um sein heidelbergisch Nestelein."

devastated, burnt, and the inhabitants butchered with unparalleled barbarity.*

This stirred up the hatred of the Protestants afresh against the Emperor, and brought the behaviour of the Swedes during the war into a favourable light. They were everywhere in an enemy's country, yet they could not be reproached with anything like the outrages of the imperial troops in the empire itself. In March, Gustavus Adolphus had issued strict regulations to protect those who had soldiers quartered upon them from exorbitant demands from the officers and troops ;† and this gave him more adherents among the people than victorious battles would have done.

Meanwhile the intermediate party was quite broken up. There was no neutrality ; on one side was Tilly, on the other Gustavus. Both coveted accessions, and sought to gain them, now by persuasions, now by threats. The Elector of Brandenburg had only consented with great reluctance, and under all sorts of conditions, to surrender Spandau and Küstrin to the Swedes. After the fall of Magdeburg he demanded Spandau back again, and as he would not listen to the King's friendly remonstrances, the latter advanced with his artillery to Berlin, and while it was directed against the castle, he compelled the Elector to sign the treaty with Sweden. The neutrality of electoral Saxony was soon also at an end.

The indecision of this court was so great, that until both parties were in the country and demanded its adherence,

* Droysen considers it probable, though not certain, that the storming from May 10-20th was begun on receiving a treacherous sign from the city itself. By whom given cannot now be ascertained. The city was set fire to by Pappenheim's orders, but whether he intended its entire destruction it is impossible to say.

† Gfrörer.

164 SECOND PHASE OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

nobody knew who was its friend or foe. The country was purely Protestant ; the imperial troops behaved as they did everywhere, while the Protestant Swedes spared both people and country. This decided the question.

At the end of August, Saxony went over to Gustavus Adolphus, and this gave an impetus to other accessions in central and southern Germany. In the beginning of September, the Saxon and Swedish armies met at Düben, and advanced into the plains of Leipzig, to give the Imperialists battle. Tilly had united all the imperial forces that were at hand, but did not intend to give battle. Pappenheim, on the contrary, and the officers, who were weary of perpetually moving hither and thither, were eager for it, and when the Swedes came in sight rushed away with their cavalry from the main army to begin the contest. The attack was a failure, and now Tilly himself was obliged to give battle.

They fought from the 7th to the 17th of September, on the Breitenfeld. The Swedes fought mainly by themselves, for the Saxons only kept their posts for a short time, and the Elector, who a few days before had declared, that if Gustavus Adolphus did not at once advance to battle he would attack Tilly alone, fled miles away from the battlefield. The Swedes fought against 34,000 imperial troops, with 13,000 infantry and 8,000 cavalry. The material of the former was not bad, and their leader was a hitherto unvanquished general.

Tilly's plan was to outflank the enemy's line of battle by means of his superior number of cavalry, and then to surround them. But the plan was frustrated by the skilful tactics of the Swedish infantry and cavalry together. After the conflict had begun by a fierce cannonade, the masses of cavalry rushed at each other, and after each

attack, the Swedish cavalry parted to the right and left, thus leaving space for the fearful firing of the musketeers, and the light cannons behind them. Thus the divisions of infantry and cavalry continually relieved each other; the excellent discipline of the Swedes, the regular interchange of weapons, the skill of their leaders, and the unusual agility of the separate divisions, finally gained the day. The valour of the imperial troops was worthy of their ancient fame. They stood the enemy's fire like walls, but could not match his tactics. The approach of night put an end to the contest, which had lasted for five hours. Tilly's army was almost annihilated, and he narrowly escaped death himself.

VICTORIOUS MARCH OF GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS TOWARDS SOUTH GERMANY, OCTOBER, 1631.—HIS PLANS OF RESTORATION.

Immense results followed this victory. All that had been accomplished by the imperial arms since 1620, in North Germany, was undone. The fruits of the victories of Wallenstein and Tilly, by which North German Protestantism was lamed, were destroyed, and from the manner of the retreat of Tilly's army, it was doubtful whether it would confront the enemy again. The greater part of Germany would probably now be open to the Swede; perhaps he would head a triumphal march to the Rhine and the Maine. The King at first advanced cautiously towards the south, as yet unconscious of the great results of his victory; he reached the Maine and Würzburg without striking a blow, and when Tilly opposed him, he was victorious over him again.

It has often been asked, why, after the victory of Breitenfeld, Gustavus Adolphus did not at once advance to

166 SECOND PHASE OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

Bohemia, march to Vienna, and before the Emperor could assemble an army, decide the contest before the walls of the capital. Why, instead of doing this, he left the attack on the Austrian hereditary dominions, to the Elector of Saxony, and himself advanced to the Rhine and the Maine, where there was no hostile army of any importance. Eminent men about the King regretted afterwards that he took this course, and eighteen years after his death, Oxenstierna was of opinion that the King made a great blunder, contrary to the advice of his best friends.

Many reasons may be imagined which determined the King not to take the former otherwise obvious course.

In the first place, he had not then that idea of the importance of his victory, in the plains of Leipzig, which he afterwards derived from its actual results, and it was on these results that the opinions of the generals were mainly based. It could not then be precisely known how completely the power of the League was destroyed.

Then the very loose alliance with the Elector required peculiar caution. The Elector maintained that he was still the independent leader of his troops. If this were conceded to him, his command must be of a kind that, however exercised, could hurt no one but himself. Gustavus Adolphus sent him to Bohemia, because he thought it more prudent to set his doubtful ally to harry the Austrian territory than to send him to the Maine and the Rhine, where, as the succourer of the Protestants, he would have appropriated to himself all the results of the Swedish victories; would have taken up his old alliances more injuriously than ever, and have been changed from a lukewarm ally into an open enemy.

By going himself to the south, he made the Elector innocuous, and created a permanent power for himself by

the adherence of the Protestant princes and imperial cities of the west and south. He was not mistaken in the value of these allies. The South Germans remained the longest faithful to the Swedes, and allied themselves so closely with them that there was no fear of their defection.

It was here that Gustavus Adolphus had his most gracious task to perform, and he really seemed like a saviour to the oppressed Protestant States. In Bohemia and Upper Austria, Protestantism had been completely crushed, and could not be revived simply by the entrance of Protestant troops; but in the favoured provinces of the Maine and the Rhine there were millions of Protestants who, since 1622, had been groaning under the oppression of their fanatical "converters," and were anxiously awaiting their liberation. This was expressed in the invitation to Gustavus Adolphus to lend them a hand against Hapsburg, which was addressed to him by a number of states assembled at Frankfort. He came to assert the rights of Protestantism; if he did not redeem his word, he would lose not only his prestige, but the substantial support of his whole policy.

Hesse Cassel, Darmstadt, the Palatinate, and its collateral lines, Würtemberg, and all the imperial cities from Frankfort to Ulm and Augsburg, formed together a great power in Germany. The time was come for wresting them from the Hapsburg power, and restoring the ascendancy of the Protestants.

After taking Erfurt with one blow, in the beginning of October, he passed through Thuringia to Franconia without meeting with any resistance; and now began the period of his triumphs, and a time of prosperity for his troops such as they had never known. Königshofen, Würzburg, Hanau, Frankfort, and Höchst fell quickly one after another into his hands. The States of the Franconian district did

168 SECOND PHASE OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

homage to him as the Duke of Franconia, and his famished troops revelled in the luxuriance of the great "priests' row" (pfaffengasse), as the line of ecclesiastical states from the Maine to the Rhine was then called.

At Würzburg there was again a sanguinary passage of arms with Tilly, which ended in his retreat. After this, Gustavus could peacefully take possession of the country from Franconia to the Rhine. His position was as brilliant as that of any one who had taken part in this war. From the coast of Pomerania he had advanced to the line of the Maine; there he appeared only as an adventurous general. Here, in the heart of the empire, he received the Protestant States like a German Emperor of the olden time.

Still, his position was not without difficulties. His alliance with the German princes was always insecure; the faithfulness of the imperial cities was no security against their defection; a single failure would drive Saxony and Brandenburg into the enemy's camp. Those only were true to him who had much to receive and little to give. The exiled princes who expected him to re-instate them—those who were landless, who looked for a rich booty, the distressed South German princes—such as the Prince of Hesse Cassel—who hoped for protection against the foreign rule of the Spaniards and Jesuits. But none of these conferred any power; they were only *protégés* whom it was often hard to please. That Saxony and Brandenburg regarded the King with distrust and aversion, was not merely a suspicion; it was a fact. Both had only been frightened into alliance with him by threats. If now or later, they found any loophole which would enable them to come to terms with the Emperor, they would avail themselves of it. Gustavus was not in the least deceived by them.

Among the princes of Central Germany there was a fear lest all this should end in merely exchanging a Hapsburg master for a Swedish one, and this could but be strengthened as the King's plans were developed by the growing success of his arms.

At any rate, the victorious march towards the south and west had essentially changed his plans.

The Swedes had hitherto found a scanty subsistence in the most sterile and exhausted parts of Germany; but now they were in countries which rejoiced their hearts. They have themselves given us naïve descriptions of their surprise. They seem to say, It is good to be here; let us make tabernacles—whereas this had never entered their heads in the camp at Werben or on the sandy plains of Brandenburg. That Gustavus Adolphus also may have now entertained ideas of permanent conquest and settlement, which did not occur to him on the Pomeranian coast and in the Mark, is quite intelligible. Was he not revered as if he had been Emperor? Were not his meetings of princes held with all the old imperial pomp? Was he not regarded with enthusiastic affection by the people?

Nuremberg, the most German of the imperial cities, and the proudest of the republics, told him expressly that if there were an election of a new head of the empire, "they knew of no one whose choice would be more suitable and happy than that of his Majesty himself."

When Gustavus Adolphus was advancing from Pomerania to Brandenburg, the Elector sent an embassy to him, to ask what recompense he should demand as a material indemnity in Germany. The King replied that if the exiles were restored, religious liberty granted to the States, and he were assured that he need not fear any attack from the Hapsburgs in his own country, he should be satisfied.

170 SECOND PHASE OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

But by this assurance he meant a pledge which should at once indemnify him, and protect him against attack. He intended probably some slip of the Baltic coast, like that which afterwards fell to Sweden on the mouth of the Oder in Pomerania.

But now that he was at Mayence the case was different. He was now justified in demanding what would then have been premature. When the Catholic party made overtures of peace, he made the following stipulations :—

1. The Edict of Restitution shall be null and void.
2. Both the Catholic and Protestant religion shall be tolerated in town and country.
3. Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia shall be restored to their previous condition ; all the exiles shall return to their estates.
4. The Elector Palatine Frederic V. shall be restored to his country.
5. The Bavarian Electorate shall cease ; the electoral vote shall be restored to the Palatinate.
6. The practice of the evangelical religion and all civic privileges shall be restored to Augsburg.
7. All Jesuits, as disturbers of the public peace and authors of the present difficulties, shall be banished from the empire.
8. Protestants, as well as Catholics, shall be admitted into every institution.
9. The monasteries in the Duchy of Wurtemberg which have been illegally taken possession of by the Catholics shall be restored.
10. Out of gratitude for the salvation of the German empire, your Majesty the King of Sweden shall be elected King of Rome.
11. All expenses incurred in the imperial cities and in

the Duchy of Wurtemberg by the Edict of Restitution shall be repaid.

12. There shall be as many Lutheran as Catholic canons appointed to the cathedrals.

We have two accounts of these conditions, one by Khevenhillier (vol. xii.), the other in Richelieu's memoirs (vol. vii.). They agree, except on one point; the clause about the election of Gustavus Adolphus as King of Rome is wanting in Richelieu. This important point is not well authenticated. There is very important testimony of another kind against that of Khevenhillier.*

About the same time Gustavus Adolphus told the people of Nuremberg† that "from his friends he required nothing but gratitude. What he had taken from his foes he intended to keep. The Protestant League must separate itself from the Catholics, and provide itself with a suitable leader, especially for the war. He could not be satisfied with pay for a few months, like a military adventurer. He might demand territory '*ex iure gentium*,' according to Grotius, although he had enough of his own. He could not give up Pomerania, on account of the sea; and if he gave anything back, he might at the same time demand the rights of supremacy which the Emperor had hitherto enjoyed. The old imperial constitution was good for nothing; it was like an ancient ruin, good enough for rats and mice, but not habitable for men."

A resolution of the Swedish Parliament now proposed religious liberty, abolition of the Inquisition for ever, and restitution to the Protestants; compensation for Sweden's war expenses, and security for the payment of them; a

* Would the difference between being acknowledged Protector of a Protestant league and king of Rome be really so great?—ED.

† Geijer.

league between the Protestants and the King of Sweden, with the *directorium belli*, which was his due, in all the wars with the Emperor and other potentates; the cession of Pomerania and Wismar to Sweden, in compensation for which Brandenburg was to have Silesia; Saxony, Lusatia, and the Landgrave of Hesse, the Dukes of Weimar, and others, were to be endowed at the expense of Austria.

This programme was quite in accordance with the wishes of the Protestant imperial cities; but the rulers did not approve of it, and were all the more suspicious of it because the details of it were unknown, and because it was clear that its ultimate objects were purposely left obscure. In the circles where politics were enshrouded in the mists of petty sovereignty, they foreboded the worst. They already beheld the Swede as Emperor, and German liberty destroyed by Sweden instead of by Spain. Saxony especially was filled with alarm, and even among those who were dependent on the King's favour great discontent was spreading, since it had appeared that he would not hear of the reinstatement of the exiled princes in the now partly vanquished countries before the end of the war.

In short his relations with the princes, with lands and without, became less friendly week by week, while with the people and the inhabitants of the imperial cities they became closer and closer. He reproached the princes with the un-German attitude of their armies and policy, while he gained the hearts of the people by amiable words. Like his grandfather, he was a great orator, and was wonderfully skilful in adopting the popular confidential tone which works upon the masses, and every speech of his to such audiences was a triumph.

OVERTHROW OF THE POWER OF THE LEAGUE.—RETURN
OF WALLENSTEIN.*—BATTLE OF LÜTZEN, NOVEMBER
16TH, 1632.

Thus passed the winter of 1631-2. In the middle of February the King advanced into the parts of South Germany which he had not before entered, in order to attack the League in Bavaria, the chief seat of its power. On the Lech, Tilly encountered him once more; and in a hot and final conflict, thanks to the execution done by the Swedish artillery, the remains of the forces of the League were defeated, and the Lech was crossed in April. Tilly died of his wounds a few days afterwards, and Gustavus Adolphus made his entry into Munich, which was quite unprotected. The whole of Bavaria up to the last fortress fell into the hands of the Swedes. The conquest of Germany up to the Austrian hereditary dominions was accomplished.

This had been foreseen at Vienna, and since the winter of 1631, vast efforts had been made to insure the defence of the country against the Swedes, in case the power of the League should be shattered. But the coffers were empty, and men were wanting for the re-organization of the degenerate army.

The extremity to which they were reduced at Vienna is proved by the assiduity with which Wallenstein was again approached. He had been living meanwhile like a prince on his estates in Bohemia, and endeavouring to throw even the Emperor into the shade by his unparalleled magnificence. No monarch of those days kept such a court as he did. He had taken his dismissal with affected coolness, yet those who knew him were convinced that no mortal could feel being degraded from the highest position more keenly.

* Hurter, Wallenstein's vier letzte Lebensjahre. Vienna, 1862.

176 SECOND PHASE OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

the Empire ; neither the Aulic Council, nor the Imperial Chamber at Spire, were to interfere in it.

Pardons also were to be granted only in accordance with his will. If the Emperor granted safe conduct to any one, or any other favour, it was only to affect his person and honour, not his property. Unconditional pardon or repeal of confiscation could be granted only by the Duke of Friedland, "For," he added to this extraordinary condition, "the Emperor is far too lenient, and grants pardons to every one at Court. This diminishes the necessary means for rewarding the superior and inferior officers, and for keeping the soldiers in good humour."

This treaty was Wallenstein's first sin against the Emperor, and it was an immense mistake ; it was impracticable and contradictory. Either Wallenstein must be practically Emperor, and Ferdinand must abdicate, or the house of Hapsburg must keep its power and Wallenstein must perish ; in either case a catastrophe must ensue. As he could not be deposed, the only probable course would be to murder him. All that followed therefore, first dalliance with treason, then actual treason, and Wallenstein's murder lay hidden in the bud in this treaty.

But he had preserved the skill with which he could create an army out of homeless soldiers of every nation, rabble, and vagabonds of all sorts, and handle it like a tool.

He had quietly looked on at the misfortunes of his old friend Max, of Bavaria, and had withstood all his entreaties for help with revengeful satisfaction. His plan was at first to carry on a defensive warfare, which he could sustain better than the foreigner, and his troops had to be accustomed to war.

Wallenstein's first operations were successful. Early in May he fell upon Prague unawares, and compelled the

troops of Electoral Saxony to make a hasty retreat. By the end of June the Elector of Bavaria joined him with the remnant of his troops, and their united forces advanced to Franconia. Near Nuremberg, Gustavus Adolphus had erected a fortified camp; Wallenstein established himself in like manner opposite to him. He did not obtain a victory, but the assaults of the Swedes on his redoubts were fruitless.

In the middle of September, Gustavus Adolphus divided his army, and returned with one division to Bavaria, when news came that Wallenstein had invaded Saxony. He had in fact just begun to act on the defensive, and had attacked the weakest part of the Swedish line of communication. An invasion of Saxony was doubtless the best means of compelling Gustavus Adolphus to return northwards; and, besides this, owing to the untrustworthiness of the Elector, the greatest political consequence might ensue from it.

Gustavus Adolphus advanced by forced marches to Saxony, in order to arrive before the Elector should have gone over to Wallenstein. When he appeared in Thuringia and Saxony, where Wallenstein's troops had behaved atrociously, the people received him with acclamations. From November 6-16 he encountered Wallenstein in the same plains where he had fought his first battle, near Lützen.

The battle which took place here was one of the most severe and sanguinary of the whole war. Command was at first difficult, for a thick fog lay upon the plain, which did not clear off till ten o'clock. The morning passed without a decision. The Swedes sprang over the trenches and broke one of the imperial squares, but were forced to retreat again. Both sides fought with the greatest valour, but the combat still remained undecided. The King had for a long time disused armour, on account of his corpulence, and wore

178 SECOND PHASE OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

a light leather jerkin. His idea was, God is with us, and if it is His will to protect us He can do so without armour. He was near-sighted, and, as ever in the thickest of the fray, he rode forward with but few companions, and got among a host of hostile cuirassiers. A shot struck his horse as he was dismounting; a second shot struck his arm. His companions were quickly dispersed; his two pages found it difficult to help him from his horse, when a third shot struck him, which seems to have been fatal. The page who was last at his side, related that while he was helping the King to dismount, hostile cuirassiers came up and asked who the wounded man was; that he would not say; but that the King made himself known, and then some one shot him through the head. The page himself was fatally wounded, and died a few hours afterwards.

It was not until his horse sprang riderless over the plain that the news spread among the Swedes, "The King is dead." His body was afterwards found stripped. With fearful rage the Swedes now threw themselves upon the enemy, and during the evening hours the imperial army was totally defeated. The victory was won, but at what a price!

But the cause for which Gustavus Adolphus fought did not die with him. The course of events preserved the stamp which he had impressed upon them. The effects of what he accomplished in two years were felt during the whole war; and when peace was concluded, sixteen years afterwards, the essential features of his plan were realised. It was not therefore as affecting this that the importance of his death lay. At the time of his death, too, he had attained that height of personal dignity which could scarcely have been surpassed, but from which he might have had to descend. For the splendour of his name he

died at the right time. In proportion as the hitherto ideal forms of his political plans became more clearly defined, his relations with those around him in Germany would have been clouded, and this had already taken place to an extent which foreboded no good. Gustavus Adolphus died in the very height of his fame, and therefore the moral influence of his character was undiminished.

But for the immediate conduct of the war, and for his policy, it was an irreparable loss.

There was no one at hand so competent to command on the field of battle as he had been. Wrangel, Baner, Torstenson, Bernhard von Weimar, were the most distinguished generals of the age, and all were trained solely in his school ; but in the main points, the organization and the discipline of the army, none of them were equal to him. The Swedish army was broken up into wild bands, which were in no way superior to those of the enemy, and Swedish bestiality was soon as notorious as that of the imperial Croats.

Politically also it made a vast difference, whether a king such as he was, was at the head of affairs, or generals and diplomatists. He alone had been at the head of everything ; neither France nor the German princes had been allowed to interfere, and this was a great blessing to Germany itself, for their only idea was to share the rags and tatters of the country between them. It was his mental superiority, the loftiness of his aims, his whole character in short, which enabled him to do this. Even his ambition was of a noble stamp.

He was fighting for himself, his family, his monarchy, and for Protestantism, and this was something totally different from the struggles of his successors for rich booty or a German principality. The objects of the ambition of these

men were narrower and therefore coarser. He might have entertained the idea of setting up a Swedish empire in Protestant Germany ; but an Oxenstierna was not capable of it, nor any of the others. They behaved in Germany like robbers and incendiaries ; and the trophies from our churches and castles, which are preserved to this day by their posterity in their palaces, are but the memorials of a lawless adventurous war.

The death of Gustavus therefore was a great misfortune for Germany. It was an exchange of one great and eminent man for a number of military generals, who tore Germany to pieces and drenched her with tears and blood ; it was nothing to them if the French scuffled with them on this vast theatre of war, and they had no other idea than to drag on the war for ever without object or aim. Gustavus Adolphus had a distinct and definite aim in view ; not so his generals. When they returned to Sweden, they would be nothing but Swedish subjects ; in Germany they were playing the part of generals ; the war was to them a lucrative trade—their living.

When, therefore, the war was dragged on for sixteen years longer, and for ten of them without any good reason, it was because there was no longer any power to give it a political aim or end, and because there were many who were interested in perpetuating the conflict and in bringing the unhappy empire to utter ruin.

PART X.

THIRD PHASE OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR. RICHELIEU, OXENSTIERNA, AND BERNHARD VON WEIMAR.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

FRANCE AFTER THE DEATH OF HENRY IV.*

LOUIS XIII., 1610-43 and Mary of Medici.—The Parliament of 1614.—Murder of the Marshal d'Ancre, April, 1617.—The Duke of Luynes.—Cardinal Richelieu, 1624-42, and Louis XIII.—Characteristics of both.—Richelieu's political method.—His testament.—His rule at home and abroad.—Fall of La Rochelle, 1628.—The affair in the Valteline and the War about Mantua, 1630.

LOUIS XIII., 1610-1643, AND MARY OF MEDICI.—THE PARLIAMENT OF 1614.—DEATH OF THE MARSHAL D'ANCRE.

IT has already been expressly mentioned that by the treaty of Bärwalde, Gustavus Adolphus provided that he should receive French subsidies, but would not agree to any cession of German territory nor to any interference with the conduct of the war nor his policy, thus forming a striking

* Besides the literature before mentioned—Le Vassor, *Histoire de Louis XIII.* 18 bde. Michelet, *Hist. de France au 17ème Siècle.* 1857, Vols. xi., xii. (the memoirs of this period). *Mémoires de Richelieu* in the *Mém. relatifs à l'histoire de France*, 1823, vii., viii. *Testament politique du Cardinal de Richelieu*, 1764, 2 bde. *Journal du Cardinal Richelieu*, 1664, 2 bde. Aubery, *Mém. pour l'hist. du Cardinal*, 1660. Leclerc, *Vie du Card. de Richelieu*, 1753. *Lettres, instructions, &c., du Cardinal de Richelieu*, par Avenel; Paris, 1853.

182 THIRD PHASE OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

contrast to Maurice of Saxony, who by the treaty of Chambord ceded the three bishoprics to France.

This lasted so long as Gustavus lived. His death was a most desirable turn of affairs for France. He had been ostensibly the ally of Richelieu's policy, but had in fact curbed it, and when he was out of the way it had freer scope than it ever otherwise would have had.

Henry IV. had died just as he was about to interfere in German difficulties, and to re-assert the old French policy of opposition to Hapsburg and the extension of France towards the east. His death was a crisis for France, which lamed her for ten years ; but this will surprise no one who considers the condition in which he found the country, and that a reign of twenty years was not sufficient to overcome the effects of the religious civil wars. It is not in the least to be wondered at that all the elements which he had set at rest were in a ferment again. The surprise rather is to what an extent he had controlled them.

A repetition now occurred of the period of the Valois, only with this great difference, that the transition was not marked by a long civil war, and the genius of a priestly statesman sufficed to establish the monarchy of Henry IV. on a firmer basis than he had found it.

Louis XIII. was still a child, and a regency was therefore inevitable. Under any circumstances this is an anxious thing, and it was doubly so in this case, because great difficulties had but just been overcome, and the Regent was a foreigner who had not the smallest vocation for government. Mary of Medici was not in the least like Catharine. She was neither so intriguing, so malicious, nor so filled with passionate ambition ; she was rather a pleasure-loving Italian, neither deep nor dangerous, but entirely without the seriousness required for her task.

The traditions of Henry IV. were incompatible with such a government. Sully, who had hitherto had the chief conduct of affairs, could not control the unhealthy influences which now came into play, and as he was not the man to belie his convictions for the sake of keeping his portfolio, he resigned; he did not choose to be responsible for a system which he did not approve. Under these circumstances it was the only dignified course for a statesman to pursue, but it was a rare example, and especially so in France.

The most reckless extravagance ensued; offices, dignities, favours and pensions were lavishly squandered, just what might be expected from a woman's government, confronted by an ambitious and exacting aristocracy. When the great lords asked for important places they were given to them, to insure their allegiance, but, instead of having this effect, it only gave rise to new demands which robbed the crown of its resources.

The finances, which had only just been extricated from the difficulties of twenty years, were soon so exhausted and the Crown so impoverished that it was compelled to have recourse to those means which Sully had studiously avoided, and which had been quietly allowed to fall into disuse under Henry IV., the States-General and assemblies of notables.

Forms were thus reinstated which had been laid aside for twenty years. In October, 1614, the States met at Paris. It was the last meeting of the States-General of old France, for those of 1789 were no longer the same. Had these States adhered to the historical traditions of certain defined liberties, had they wisely co-operated in the administration and in the enactment of laws, this assembly of 1614 might have been a most important historical event.

But these conditions were entirely wanting. The States-

184 THIRD PHASE OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

General seemed to be already defunct ; all their acts related to separate class interests ; the nobles and the clergy treated the third estate with sovereign contempt. Whatever was desired by one party was sure to be frustrated by another, and no common legal ground was recognised. How different in England ! Ten years later, the Stuarts were in a situation similar to that of the regency in France. There we see the nation, supported by the traditions of the past and a never obsolete constitutional law, skilfully availing itself of new situations, and guided by courageous and talented men, it enters upon a new order of things. Where was the third estate in France which could aspire to take a part in the government, where the lower house that could say, " We are three times as rich as your house of Lords," where the independent men who could lead the attack upon the monarchy !

This meeting of the States-General sufficed to bury their rights for ever.

It will be interesting to devote a little attention to this last assembly of the States of old France, for its transactions are characteristic of the period, and of the relations between them and the crown ; it is also not without importance for a comprehension of the situation of the people. The mission of the Assembly, as it was defined by the King, in a short opening speech, was to bring the grievances of the different States before the crown. Each estate held separate sittings to draw up statements of such grievances, and each informed the others by message, of what it considered of sufficient importance to be brought forward.

A great diversity of demands and interests at once came to light.

The nobles and clergy, desired the abolition of the sale of places, which involved exclusion of the burgher class

from official posts, but the representatives of the third estate, who almost all held such offices, were against it, until the annuities and gratuities granted to the great nobles should also be abolished. The discussion of this gave rise to bitter accusations of one class against another. The third estate stated, in the king's presence, that the nobles plundered the State, and that by the enormous expenses to which they had compelled the government, things were brought to such a pass that the people were obliged to go into the fields and eat grass like oxen. The nobles then defended themselves; some thought these expressions slanderous, others considered the citizen class so far beneath the nobles that the accusations were beneath contempt. But no agreement was come to on the main question.

It was just the same with the second point. The clergy demanded the proclamation of the decrees of the Council of Trent; though with a reservation of all the liberties of the Gallican Church, but the third estate was decidedly opposed to it, fearing the condemnation of the heretics and the introduction of the Jesuits.

There was another sharp discussion about the Jesuits in the assembly. The third estate legally opposed the heretical political doctrine of the Jesuits as to the insecurity of all temporal political power, and the right of the masses to revolt. It demanded that it should be declared by an inviolable and fundamental law, that as the King was acknowledged as sovereign ruler in his own country and derived his crown from God, no power on earth, temporal or spiritual, had any right to his kingdom, neither to deprive his sacred person of it, nor to release his subjects from their fealty under any pretext whatsoever.

Behind these differences lurked the religious controversy; it would have been a hard task to settle it, even to a strong

186 THIRD PHASE OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

government, and a weak one could in no wise adjust the differences. While Condé, Bouillon, Rohan, Soubise, and Sully, seemed ready to take up arms against the government, allied as it was with Spain, attention was excited by the determination with which Armand du Plessis de Richelieu, Bishop of Luçon, asserted the right of the Catholic clergy to a share in the government, and demanded the proclamation of the decrees of Trent. Clearly and firmly he developed his ideas of church and state, and the emphasis with which he spoke, bore witness to the self-reliance of this dignitary of the Church.

The government became more pitiful and helpless every day; it was obliged to make all sorts of concessions; all parties, and each with louder threats than the last, made demands upon the crown, and the government was so intimidated that it consented to contradictory things.

The chief influence at Court had fallen into hands which no party could tolerate, and which reminded the nation that France was governed by a foreign regency.

The Queen, Mary of Medici, had brought with her from Florence, a waiting maid, Eleonora Galigai, a cautious, reserved Italian; she dressed the Queen's hair, and at the same time gained possession of her ear. She was married to a certain Concino Concini, a Florentine of obscure birth and in decayed circumstances, who had made her acquaintance on the voyage from France. The attitude of this couple was a model of that Italian virtuosoship which can accommodate itself to all circumstances; can be at first content with a little, and when it has gained a footing assumes the policy of the parvenu.

The Concinis made themselves indispensable to the Queen, had a finger in all the court intrigues, were now in league with this coterie, now with that, and preyed upon

them all. She collected treasures, he acquired offices and dignities, rose step by step, was adorned with all sorts of titles, and finally created Marquis d'Ancre, and Marshal of France.

This favouritism was a thorn in the sides of all, and of course all the faults of the government were ascribed to it.

The Queen adopted a policy more and more opposed to that recurrence to ancient traditional policy, which was inaugurated by Henry IV. ; she leagued herself with Spain, by treaties and marriage contracts, and the lukewarmness that she evinced in all government transactions deprived her of the confidence of all parties.

The discontent which was most loudly expressed by the princes and the eminent Huguenots, fermented for a long time and became deeper and deeper.

In 1614-15, a blow could be foreseen, which would put an end to this misgovernment. Meanwhile, the King had reached the age of sixteen ; he also had his advisers and courtiers, and thus a remarkable schism took place. The Court of the Queen did just what it pleased, and another party assembled around the King and devised the fall of the favourite.

The recollection of a fearful time was still fresh in men's minds, when assassination was quite in vogue, and the idea presented itself to some of Concini's foes that he must be murdered. The Marshal was summoned to the King, and, as he was crossing the bridge to the Louvre, in April, 1617, he was struck by a fatal shot.

It was a singular coincidence that the beginning of the King's independent reign should be marked by a political murder.

When he heard that Concini had fallen, he exclaimed, "Now I am king." But he was mistaken ; it soon appeared that he had only exchanged his Mayor of the Palace.

two contending parties at Court, then as the leading man who ruled everything.

He had been trained in a remarkable political school.

When the States-General met in 1614 he was under thirty years of age, but had excited general surprise by his gift of eloquence. He early betrayed the qualifications of a born statesman, whom chance only had clothed in the ecclesiastical garb; indeed he afterwards displayed more skill in everything than in the affairs of the Church. The Roman purple was to him but an outward garment, though a welcome aid on account of the authority it conferred.

In the seventeenth century the ecclesiastical power had still weight enough to accomplish more than the secular arm, and it is certain that Richelieu could not have ventured on many of the things which he did without the palladium of the clerical garb. His most intimate confidant in his foreign policy was a Capuchin monk, a man belonging to the old French nobility, and inspired with the corresponding ambition. He and his alter-ego, Pater Joseph, established a state which more than any other assumed a development opposed to the Romish ecclesiastical power, and sought to make the hierarchy of the Church a hierarchy of the State.

The family from which Richelieu sprang belonged to the old French nobility. Men of the race of Du Plessis, who had distinguished themselves, could be mentioned even in early times. He had nothing, therefore, of the unequal birth of the *parvenu* who has laboured hard to attain his position, and then displays audacity on the one hand and cowardice on the other. Richelieu had the stately gait of a well-born man, who rules the nobles, not as a plebeian, but as the representative of a political idea, who can venture to oppose his equals. His path brings him into

contact with the highest personages in the State, and he pursues it without faltering.

He found circumstances, as they were sure to be after thirteen years of misgovernment, without principles or power. The State was in the utmost confusion; there was neither orderly administration nor regular income, nor a healthy financial condition. No obedience was rendered to the Government: the officials either did what they pleased, or were under the command of the great nobles or powerful governors, whose favour was of more importance than that of the King and his ministers. All the popular advantages of a good government were also sacrificed; uniformity of the law, security of person and property in town and country. The advantages of Sully's administration were sorely missed, and France no longer maintained the distinguished position in foreign affairs to which she had been raised by Henry IV. This great monarchy exercised scarcely any influence upon the fate of Europe. If Spain took her in tow, she might, with the help of her Hapsburg relations, help France to regain her lost possessions.

All this had to be changed; internally the use of its natural powers must be restored to the State; it must regain the influence abroad which was its due.

Richelieu was resolved to recur to the home and foreign policy of Henry IV., and especially to sever the bond with Spain. His plan was to take part in the great war which was just begun, and to round off France at the expense of the German empire.

But before this could be seriously thought of, the internal administration must be readjusted; before he could send his armies to take part in the German war, France must have a government which could secure the service of her subjects and the use of the country's wealth; the monarchy

must regain popularity, factions must be humbled, and the trustworthiness of officials restored.

The first ten years of Richelieu's reign were devoted to this task of renovating the French state, and it was the part of his labours most worthy of admiration.

Richelieu never could tell in the morning whether he should be at the helm in the evening. Countermines were continually at work against him, instigated by the King's mother and brother, the nobles, the clergy, and the Protestants; he had to be perpetually on the watch to frustrate these intrigues, yet never to interrupt the course of business. He succeeded perfectly. He pursues undaunted the path he had marked out for himself, and his daily struggle to maintain his power is never apparent, neither does the admirable and persevering energy come to light with which he overcomes all sorts of hindrances, the dexterity which enables him to anticipate all the devices of the enemy, or the boldness with which he makes all around him feel the power of a great master. He has identified himself with the State; whoever opposes him opposes the State; in the name of the common weal he banishes the King's mother and brother, sends many of his opponents to the scaffold, and does not spare the highest.

It may be imagined that it was not an amiable rule. Authoritative measures, espionage, interception of correspondence, executions and imprisonments, were indispensable to it. But in all this his personal interests always coincided with the demands of the common weal; he was the State; his ambition was the greatness of France; all that was French was his interest; all that was opposed to him was opposed to France. He did not pursue his personal enemies as such—he mostly despised them—but woe to those who brought family interests or factions to bear

against him; on these he inflicted the most severe chastisement.*

A nation does not easily submit to such a rule; but the French do so more readily than any other. They willingly sacrifice peace and comfort for splendour, surrender liberty to a strong government which secures fame and martial glory. Richelieu conferred outward splendour on France, and created internal order; but religious and political liberty had to be confined within the narrowest limits. His rule was violent and unrelenting; but even his enemies did not deny that it was able, and therefore it was a turning-point in history, not only for France but for Europe.

RICHELIEU'S POLITICAL METHOD.

All Europe took to imitating his system, and Louis XIV. was not the originator, but only the inheritor, of those ideas of political power and sagacity which, under him, made the round of European governments.

The principles of, and precepts for, his method of government are laid down in the observations comprised in the political testament, so called, of Cardinal Richelieu,† and which were written either by himself or from his dictation.

The following are some of the most important points. The most necessary thing for a government to secure is the unconditional obedience of all—"the most secure foundation of the submissiveness which is indispensable to the existence of states." In order to this it is necessary for the government itself to possess a resolute will to accomplish what, after due consideration, it considers to be right, that it should never falter in its course, and severely punish the contumacious. The government of the country demands

* For Richelieu's characteristics see Ranke, II. 531.

† Schmidt, III. 464.

manly vigour and unswerving firmness, the opposite of that yielding weakness which exposes the country to danger and infuses courage into the enemy. Most of the great schemes of France have failed, because she has been deterred by the first difficulty from prosecuting them. Unswerving consistency, secrecy, and despatch are the best methods of insuring success. Further, political objects must always, and in every case, be supreme over every other consideration.

Public interests must be the sole object of the ruler and his ministers ; it is a great evil for the State when private are preferred to public interests. The majority of the misfortunes that have happened to France have been caused by the devotion of many organs in the administration to their own interests, to the detriment of those of the State, and by the fact that compassion and favour have prevented the carrying out of good resolutions.

Punishments and rewards must be adjusted, so as to keep their end in view. The latter are not to be despised ; but the former are more often necessary, for they are less easily forgotten. Not to punish an important error, which might open wide the doors to license, is criminal neglect, and there is no greater injury to the public good than to be indulgent towards those who endanger it.

This indulgence has produced an anarchy in France which has only served the cause of the numerous parties, and has greatly injured the royal authority. In the case of political crimes pity must be set aside, and the complaints of the accused, as well as the babble of the ignorant masses, disregarded ; for they often find fault with what is most salutary for them, and absolutely necessary. It is a Christian duty to forget personal offences ; but to forget offences against the State, to let them go unpunished, is not to forgive them, it is to commit them anew. In ordinary

matters justice requires full proof of guilt ; but not so in the case of political crimes ; then conjecture, derived from strong probability, must often suffice, because the formation of parties against the public good is generally conducted with so much cunning and secrecy that proof is only possible when it is too late to punish.

The motto, therefore, is, *All for*, but nothing *by* the people.

The Cardinal asserts the rights of the State in relation to the Church.

It is the duty of rulers in spiritual matters to be subject to the Popes as the successors of St. Peter and the vicegerents of Christ ; but they are not to suffer any interference from them in temporal affairs. In making appointments to bishoprics, abbacies, and smaller benefices, the king should consider merit, an exemplary life, and uprightness of character. Persons of loose morals should be excluded, and those who offend must be punished, so as to make examples of them.

The position of the nobility, one of the main sinews of the State, requires reform. The nobles must be protected against the large number of officials who have been raised up to their disadvantage ; but they must be restrained in their acts of violence towards the people. They must be protected in the possession of their estates, and the acquisition of new ones must be made easy, that they may regain their former dignity, and not be incapacitated for serving the State in war. This last is the main thing ; a nobility which is not ready to render military service to the State is a luxury, even a burden, to it, and does not deserve the privileges and dignities which distinguish it from the burgher class.

The judges in the parliaments shall pronounce sentence

196 THIRD PHASE OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

on the subjects, for that is the purpose for which they are appointed ; but they shall not assume to do more. They are not to be permitted to interfere in the jurisdiction of the Church, nor in the enactment of laws. It would be the ruin of the royal authority if the officials were allowed to have a voice in political questions, for which they have neither the necessary knowledge nor power of comprehension.

The people must be kept in a state of subjection. The taxes serve to hinder them from becoming too prosperous, and from surpassing the limits of their duty.

The burdens which remind the people of their subjection should not be too heavy ; they should be in proportion to their ability to pay, and it is the duty of rulers not to exact more than is absolutely necessary. In extraordinary cases they should lay claim to the superfluity of the rich before bleeding the poor to an extraordinary degree.

In the matter of instruction and learning great caution is needful. A knowledge of the sciences is indeed a great ornament to the State, and cannot be dispensed with ; but it is equally certain that it cannot be imparted to every one without distinction. As a body having eyes in every part would be a monster, so would a State possessing only learned subjects, who would exhibit pride and assumption, but would not render obedience.

Learning would ruin trade, which enriches the State, and agriculture, which is the true nourisher of the people ; it would in a short time depopulate the nursery-ground of soldiers, who flourish far better in ignorance than amidst the refinements of learning. Learning itself would be desecrated by being communicated to all alike ; there would soon be more people to raise doubts than to solve them, to oppose truth than to defend it. Too large a number of colleges and classes is an evil.

It will be sufficient in towns which are not capital cities if the colleges are limited to two or three classes, which are enough to raise the youth out of too great ignorance ; those who are capable of more must be sent to the large cities.

It will be seen that this is not so much a new system as a new method, which aims to effect the absolutism of the power of the State, while it never loses sight of the interests of the populace. There is as yet nothing of the Sultanism to which it degenerated under Louis XIV. ; nothing of that boundless increase of the burdens of the State, the absorption of the State in the Court, nothing of the blind despotism which is destructive of the roots of its own existence.

This centralisation of the political power in one hand, the limitation of the mediæval corporations, estates, and privileges ; this simplification of the machinery of State, this provision for equal rights and rational administration, for sparing and furthering the material prosperity of the people ; this is the absolutism of the seventeenth century, which we now see exhibited by its first able representative, and it was a policy which was to be nobly pursued by Frederic William, the great Elector.

A new sort of administration was now introduced by means of paid officials, who gradually displaced the rule of the nobles and the power of provincial governors ; that sort of centralisation, in short, which, since De Tocqueville's time, has not been looked upon as a product of 1789, but as a creation of the ancient régime. People of the burgher class, without family interests, and entirely dependent on the Government, became the organs of the State. The masses felt this to be a great advantage, having learnt that under the rule of the nobles there was no security of life or property. For the same reason Richelieu was able to

put an end to the great corporations, or to let them decay and die out. He was backed by the people, who rejoiced to see him restrain and punish the arrogance of the great. What was it to them if now and then one of the highest nobles was thrown over night into the Bastille or was brought to the scaffold?

RICHELIEU'S ADMINISTRATION AT HOME AND ABROAD.

His relations with Rome and the Huguenots were peculiar and thoroughly statesmanlike. He made both parties feel equally the power of the law and the national interests of France.

As to his relations with Rome, he was in fact a secular politician rather than a spiritual ruler, and outwardly he allied himself with the heretics and took the field against the Catholics. This was painfully felt at Rome ; but the man was too powerful for them to venture to do anything against the minister of the most Christian king, though a half-suppressed sigh might escape them.

Henry IV. had given the Huguenots too much, not religious, but political liberty, fortresses garrisoned by themselves and great civic privileges. In the recent revolts it had repeatedly happened that discontented nobles had appeared at the head of the Protestants, and had turned the possession of fortresses, like La Rochelle, to good advantage against the Crown. This was an abuse which could only be dangerous to Protestantism. Then this republic of a self-governing religious party within a monarchy, this State within the State, was not to be put up with. Richelieu did not attempt to abolish the toleration of different creeds, though it could not fail to suffer if the surest pledges of it were done away ; but this political isolation which so easily led to open rebellion must cease.

Fanatical zeal for conversion was not his forte, but it was quite in accordance with his principles to deprive the Protestants of their fortresses, garrisons, and self-government; and the skill with which he prevailed over them is peculiar to him. At first he weakened the position of the Huguenots in alliance with England, the natural ally of Protestantism, and employed English ships against La Rochelle; but when England saw her mistake, and came with a great fleet to the help of the Protestants, he was strong enough in spite of this, late in the autumn of 1628, to overthrow La Rochelle. The fall of this great fortress was a catastrophe for the privileged position of the Reform party, but it did not result in any powerful reaction against their creed.

There was now neither man nor party in a position to set Richelieu at defiance. The King was completely under his influence; the aristocracy were partly intimidated, partly made harmless; the clergy obeyed him; the Huguenots, who a few years before shared the King's power, were now only a sect, no longer a political party.

For an effective foreign policy two things were wanting; well-ordered finances—always his weak point—and an efficient army. Neither could be obtained quickly, especially the latter, with limited means. He therefore proceeded at first with caution, contented himself with moderate results; but he was continually negotiating, and ever alert to let no favourable opportunity slip, and to keep everything in his power. The chess moves of his foreign policy may be counted on the fingers. No alliance with Spain, but opposition to the whole house of Hapsburg, for where France abutted on its Spanish and German possessions, France had an ancient hankering for the acquisition of territory. In league with Spain she would have the approval of the papal party, but that would be all; in conflict with her

there was a prospect of rich booty. The Pyrenees were not then the real boundary of France; Spain still possessed Burgundy, and some parts of the South of France, and the chain of fortresses from the Ardennes to Ostende, by the possession of which France first became what she now is.

After the course the great German war had taken during the second decade, the danger did not seem so distant that Ferdinand and the Spanish Hapsburgs might regain their position. Since the victories of the League, the decline of the Union, the progress of Tilly, the subjugation of the revolution in Bohemia and Upper Austria, and the restoration in Central and North Germany, Ferdinand had acquired a position in and beyond his hereditary dominions, such as had never been attained by Charles V., and in the ancient Hapsburg territory between France and Germany, an effective Spanish army had appeared under Spinola, which was renewing the war in the Netherlands, and advancing up the German Rhine; in short fresh courage and ambition seemed to have been infused into the power which, at the close of the sixteenth century, had appeared to be approaching dissolution, and its increasing success could not be indifferent to a watchful French statesman.

If the genuine French idea were once conceived of keeping down the old Hapsburgian rival, alliances would follow as a matter of course. England, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, the German Protestants, all the heretics in the world were desirable allies to help to oppose Spain.

It had cost Henry IV. his life that he had been a Huguenot, and as a Catholic king pursued a heretical foreign policy. It was thought that this betrayed the fact that at heart he was a heretic still. This was a reproach which could not be cast on a cardinal of the Romish Church, who kept outwardly within her bounds and had destroyed the

power of the Protestants at home. People did not regard his religious but only his political motives, and these were forgiven when there was no help for it.

Richelieu began to make the voice of France heard in smaller questions, such as in the Valteline and Mantua.

The Valteline was the key between the old Duchy of Milan, now Lombardy, and the Tyrol, the mountain fortress of the German Hapsburg territory. The country was of the greatest strategical importance, and rich in all the products of a fruitful soil; it was then dependent neither on Spain nor Hapsburg. During the time of the fierce persecution of the Protestants in Italy, after the middle of the sixteenth century, the Grisons had become a refuge for the exiled Italians, and on this Roman soil a very strict form of Calvinism had been established. The Engadine is still more rigidly Calvinistic than any other country in the world. The country was dependent on Rhætia, but was protected in its creed. In July, 1620, at the instigation of various persons, something like the Sicilian vespers took place among the Protestants. Horrible deeds were perpetrated; on the northern slopes of the Lake of Como the castles may still be seen from which the Spaniards attempted the invasion, and Bibles may still be found in the villages in which the grandfather inscribed the names of some of the murdered. After this the Spaniards occupied all the fortresses, and the German Hapsburgs were well content to have their Spanish cousins for neighbours.

It was under Richelieu that French policy assumed an attitude in this question, at first purely a local one, that gave it importance. Richelieu interfered, sent an army into the Valteline, drove out the foreign troops, and thus prevented the Hapsburg power from possessing itself of this important Alpine pass.

Savoy.

A similar case occurred in Mantua. There the Spanish claims were contested by those of a French noble, the Duke of Nevers. This gave Richelieu the desired pretext for securing a footing in the neighbourhood of Lombardy. Himself in armour, he came at the head of an army, drove the Spaniards before him, and conquered Pignerol and Chambery—indeed almost the whole of Saxony. By the treaty of Chierasco, April, 1631, the French pretender received Mantua.

These were small matters. He had still to forego great enterprises, because he had neither fleet nor army. Then Gustavus Adolphus appeared as an ally; he hoped to find a client in him who would allow him to pursue his French policy in Germany. But in this he was altogether mistaken, for he was, in fact, only permitted to share expenses, not to advise with him, nor to act conjointly. But with the death of the Swedish king, this embarrassment was at an end. The traditions of the past might still have some influence with the Swedish generals and statesmen; but this was an obstacle which could scarcely exist very long or be insurmountable.*

* For the history of the beginning of French interference in the German war, the unpublished reports of the embassy supply some particulars which Häusser extracted in Paris (B. R. MSS. Français No. 2249, suppl.). At the conclusion of a paper on the progress of the German and Spanish Hapsburgs in 1620 this passage occurs: "I seems to be more than enjoined upon us 'de se reveiller d'une s profonde et fatale léthargie en laquelle la France est tombée par le disastreuse mort de notre grand roi Henry.' If now Spain were to take it into her head to seek a quarrel with us, and to attack us in the rear, as at the time of the League, all paths would be closed to us, and we should have neither troops nor money from Germany, Switzerland or Italy, such as the late king could procure in his necessity,—internal peace and unity among all Frenchmen, and dutiful obedience to our just and good king, and the skilful conduct of affairs by a minister who would 'reprendre les sages leçons et magnanimes du feu roi et les erre d'une bonne intelligence avec les plus sincères amys et anciens alliés

de cette couronne ' would be the only means of averting the evil." A dispatch of 1620 severely blames the rapacity of Austria, advises an alliance with the Protestants, and says it is a calumny to call the war a religious war, the object of which on the Protestant side was to crush the Catholics. It is said in a report of 1626 that the war will not come to an end until Holland, France, and England are conquered by Spain and Hapsburg. On December 24th, 1619, Bouillon (fol. 183) advises the king at least to mediate. A letter from the Emperor to Gustavus Adolphus, 'traduit de l'allemand en français,' dated from Ratisbon, August 18th, 1630, is also there, in which the Emperor expresses surprise at the hostile attitude of Sweden, and demands either a formal declaration of war or a peaceful understanding. Gustavus Adolphus answers from Stralsund, October 30th, 1630, and expressly reminds him of his former conduct and his many hostile acts.—ED.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

GERMANY FROM THE DEATH OF GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS TO
WALLENSTEIN'S CATASTROPHE. NOVEMBER, 1632—
FEBRUARY, 1634.*

Dissensions in the Swedish Camp: Oxenstierna and Bernhard of Weimar.—Beginning of the French Negotiations: Marquis de Feuquieres.—The Treaty of Heilbronn, April 23rd, 1633.—Wallenstein's ambiguous conduct of the war in 1633.—Negotiation with Saxony. The letter of December 26th, 1633.—The Bond of Pilsen, January 12th, 1634.—The murder at Eger, February 25th, 1634.

OXENSTIERNA, BERNHARD OF WEIMAR, FEUQUIERES, AND
THE TREATY OF HEILBRONN. APRIL, 1633.

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS was general and diplomatist in one person. In this the greatness of his character consisted; and it gave a unity and emphasis to his far seeing and thoughtful policy, of which his opponents, with their far simpler tasks, could not boast.

* Förster, F., Wallenstein's Briefe; Berlin, 1628. The same Wallenstein als Feldherr u. Staatsman. The same, Wallenstein's Prozess; Leipzig, 1844. Von Aretin, Wallenstein; Regensburg 1848. Dudik, Forschungen, 1853. The same, Wallenstein vor seiner Enthebung bis zur Uebernahme des Commando's, 1858. Helbig Wallenstein und Arnim, 1850. The same, Kaiser Ferdinand u. der Herzog von Friedland, 1852. The same, Gustav Adolf und der Kurfürst von Sachsen, 1854. Hurter, zur Geschichte Wallenstein's, 1855. The same, Wallenstein's vier letzte Lebensjahre, 1862. Röscher, Herzog Bernhard; Weimar, 1828. Barthold, F. W., Geschichte des grossen deutschen Krieges; Stuttgart, 1802. Droysen, Preuss. Politil

On his death this unity between warfare and policy was at an end. There were two parties in the Swedish camp, one represented by the Chancellor Oxel Oxenstierna, the other comprised the greater number of the superior officers and a host of adventurers, more or less distinguished, who had attached themselves to the victorious headquarters.

Oxenstierna was the statesman who, always keeping in view the political objects of the war, urged as speedy a decision as possible; then an acceptable peace might be concluded, and he had no interest in advancing the supremacy of the generals by an aimless continuance of the war.

They, on the contrary, wished to continue it precisely on the grounds which made Oxenstierna wish for peace. They had no wish to lay down their arms, until every one of them had secured a splendid booty; they were the magnates of the camp, and thought it a singular piece of assumption to dictate their course to them with the pen. Among the generals there was but one on Oxenstierna's side; this was Gustavus Horn, who was related to him, and was one of the most distinguished pupils of Gustavus Adolphus.

Besides these, there were in the camp a multitude of German princes and rulers whom the war had driven from their countries and subjects, and who hoped to make their fortunes in soldier fashion, so long as there was a chance of it. Many of them had been so ill-used by the house of Hapsburg that they longed to revenge themselves with the sword. These younger sons of younger brothers, as Shakespeare says, were continually fomenting war; they had everything to gain and nothing to lose; for them the war would still have an aim, until every one of them had

found a peaceful home again beneath the shadow of some principality.

Bernhard of Weimar, who was far superior to the others in abilities, and might be called the leader of the German war party, was one of these emigrants. The youngest of seven brothers all living, born August, 1604, he was left an orphan at thirteen, and brought up by his eldest brother, John, to the profession of arms, he had grown up as a thorough soldier of this martial age. Temperate, free from the vices of the age, not highly cultivated, but a sincere Protestant, and an amiable, excellent man, he was indisputably one of the best elements in this circle. He had early shown talent and aspiring ambition; was the impersonation of hatred of the House of Hapsburg and the Albertines, and, when the war broke out, he and several of his brothers took up arms as a matter of course. With his brother William he entered the service of the chivalrous Margrave of Baden, in the spring of 1622, and took part in the campaign in the Palatinate and the unfortunate battle of Wimpfen. After various vicissitudes he made the acquaintance of Gustavus Adolphus, the great leading spirit of the war, joined him in the campaign in Franconia, on the Rhine and in the south, in which he greatly distinguished himself, and to him especially belonged the fame of following up the victory to the upper Lech and the Tyrolean passes. By the time of the unhappy day of Lützen he was already a well-known and distinguished general.

He possessed the art of attaching the soldiers to his person, and had occasionally ventured to oppose Gustavus Adolphus. The discontent in the German element in the camp often found a spokesman in him, and this had given rise to his playing a certain independent part.

After his troops—4,000 cavalry and 8,000 infantry—had

unanimously chosen him as leader, he openly demanded a German principality—such as a duchy in Franconia, consisting of the bishoprics of Würzburg, Bamberg, &c. ; he also thought that he should be able to provide for himself in Alsace and on the Upper Rhine ; at all events, he had very concrete aims in view in his warfare and policy, and made no secret of them.

This discord explains the fact, that after the victory of Lützen, which was decisive in a military point of view, and perceptibly weakened the Emperor for a long time, nothing of importance was done by the victors. The strife between the generals and Oxenstierna was to blame for it.

No agreement of any importance had been arrived at when France began her negotiations. Richelieu sent his commissioner, Feuquieres to Germany to see what was to be done now that the little Gothic King was out of the way. According to his instructions he was to offer the chief command to Saxony, so as to induce it to unite itself with the Catholic States against the Emperor, to consult with Oxenstierna, not to conclude any peace without France, and to maintain the conditions of the Treaty of Bärwalde as regarded the Catholics. Brandenburg and other states of the empire were to be treated with, the Swedes were to be won over, the Chancellor especially was to be enticed by the prospect of the marriage of his son with the young Queen Christina, and, above all, his consent was to be obtained to the cession of the most important fortresses on the left shore of the Rhine to France. Various other agents were at the same time paving the way for French interests in Germany.

But Oxenstierna was not idle either. Even before authority came from Sweden, nominating him legate of the Crown in the Roman empire, and with all the armies, he had pro-

ceeded to Central and North Germany to promote his objects—the alliance of the Protestant States with Sweden, and indemnification for the latter. At Dresden and Berlin he found the old hesitation and want of decision; he hoped to find more readiness among the little states of Upper Germany, whom he summoned to Heilbronn at the beginning of the year.

Feuquieres came also, after convincing himself that nothing would come of giving the command to Saxony. The object now was to prevent Sweden from taking everything in hand alone. He had already received a repulse from Oxenstierna about the Rhenish fortresses; perhaps he might be more successful now at Heilbronn, especially as Saxony and Brandenburg would be opposed to the Swedish supremacy. In fact, the Protestant States of Upper Germany were not disposed to enter into the close alliance under the leadership of Sweden which Oxenstierna desired, and this offered an opportunity for the French commissioner to step in as a mediator.

So, on the 23rd April, 1633, the alliance of the Crown of Sweden with the four upper circles of the empire was formed by the Treaty of Heilbronn. It was not precisely in accordance with Richelieu's wishes, for more weight was conceded to Sweden than he liked; but neither did it altogether satisfy the Chancellor, for a *consilium formatum* was placed at his side, in which ten representatives of the States of the empire were to watch the Swedish conduct of the war. Before this a treaty with France had been renewed, essentially on the basis of the Treaty of Bärwalde. By this the French subsidies were secured, while Sweden still maintained the leadership, and it was only with him, not with France direct, that the Upper German States had entered into alliance.

Meanwhile, Bernhard of Weimar, who had taken the command of the army of Gustavus Adolphus, had, by the end of January, advanced into Franconia from Thuringia, occupied the bishopric of Bamberg, and proceeded southwards to join Horn in Upper Swabia. In spite of the marauding expeditions of John of Werth, the meeting was effected at Donauwörth in April. But here all advance was at an end, for a mutiny broke out in the army, which was with difficulty quelled.

Meanwhile, Bernhard caused the princes of the confederation assembled at Heidelberg to grant the Duchy of Franconia to him, and a month later he received the oath of allegiance. The chief command of the federal armies was, however, refused him by Oxenstierna, although, as the event proved, his nomination would have been the most suitable. Horn, whose superior he felt himself to be, was placed over him as field-marshal, and the army was only pacified by granting its most urgent demands and the promise of better days.

The military events during this crisis were not of great importance, and the war only lost its dilatory character at the end of the year.

Part of the conquests on the Danube had been lost again by the rash acts of John of Werth. Bernhard now advanced, crossed the Danube near Neuburg, and suddenly appeared at Ratisbon, which capitulated in November. After several months of inactivity, Wallenstein had evacuated Silesia, threatened Brandenburg, and turned again towards Bohemia, when Bernhard advanced towards the Austrian territory without opposition from any considerable foe.

210 THIRD PHASE OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

WALLENSTEIN'S CATASTROPHE ; THE AMBIGUOUS CAMPAIGN
OF 1633 ; NEGOTIATIONS AND TREACHERY ; THE BOND
OF PILSEN ; THE ASSASSINATION, FEBRUARY, 1634.

As things had been for months in the Swedish camp, it would have required but little skill and energy on the Imperial side sorely to punish the enemy for its unprotected state. But things were no better in the Imperial army ; if the Swedes did little, Wallenstein did nothing. If the relations between Bernhard and Oxenstierna were cool, those between the Imperial generals and the Court of Vienna were still cooler. And this was mainly the reason that the war did not take an unfortunate turn for Sweden in 1633.

After the battle of Lützen, Wallenstein had returned to Bohemia, and had lain quiet the whole winter. It was obvious that his army must have suffered severely, and therefore that the first thing to be done was to re-constitute it. He also considered that he had reason to be dissatisfied with his generals, as is proved by the severe sentences of the court-martials. As to the necessity of a still longer period of rest for the re-organization of the army, Wallenstein must have been a better judge than they were at Vienna, who knew nothing of war. Besides this tarriance in Bohemia, this "natural bastion," although it might occasion some losses in other places, was easily to be justified on strategic grounds.* But that spring should pass over and nothing be done, after the winter had been passed in idleness, might well occasion anxiety.

While the population of the hereditary dominions was almost ruined by the taxes required for the support of Wallenstein's army,—every official, from the judge to the town-

* Droysen.

clerk, had to pay ten per cent., there was a tax of 100 florins on every doctor's degree, every patent of nobility, every carriage, sledge, or handsomely harnessed horse—the Swedes advanced southwards to Ratisbon, and northwards to Hameln; still nothing was heard of Wallenstein but complaints of arrears of pay, nothing of his army but complaints of their treatment of the peaceful inhabitants. The general had shut himself up in unapproachable seclusion at Prague, and admitted no one but his own confidants to his presence for weeks.

At length, with the beginning of June, he advanced against Arnim, who was in Silesia, with a Saxon army at least equal to his; but instead of a battle taking place, for which both were prepared, an armistice was concluded. When this had expired, Arnim drove Wallenstein back from Schweidnitz, when he again relapsed into inactivity for weeks. Meanwhile, in July, the imperial troops and those of the League under Gronsfield were together defeated in the north, near Oldendorp, in Hesse; Hameln was taken, and in August in the south-west a faithful partizan of the Emperor, the Duke of Lorraine, was overpowered by the Swedes at Pfaffenhofen and taken prisoner.

Great uneasiness now began to be felt at Vienna; at Munich they had been uneasy for a long time. At the former the disastrous results of the treaty of Znaim were recognised, at the latter they felt the revenge of mortal enmity. It is clear that Wallenstein was glad of any pretext for sacrificing the Elector to the enemy. When Wallenstein's only crime was that he had raised an army for the Emperor which thrust aside the League, and restored Austria to him, Max of Bavaria had incited the Emperor against him till he was deposed. This the Duke never forgave him. Then there were political differences. Wal-

212 THIRD PHASE OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

Wallenstein represented the Emperor's military power, Max the principalities ; Wallenstein hated the priests and their restoration to power, Max saw no other object in the war than their victory. Wallenstein beheld the Elector's difficulties with malicious satisfaction, and when through the Emperor he earnestly begged Wallenstein for help, instead of giving it he concluded a fresh armistice with Arnim, by which it was expressly forbidden to give any support on the Danube, and on every remonstrance he appealed to his right to make war, conclude truces, and negotiate peace according to his pleasure.

When the end of the year came, Wallenstein's only military achievement was that with 20,000 men he had compelled 5,000 Swedes, who had ensconced themselves at Thurn, in Steinau, to capitulate, thereby freeing Silesia from the enemy.

But this enigmatical mode of warfare was no longer Wallenstein's only fault. During the course of the spring and summer of 1633 he had caused negotiations to be entered into, second and third hand, the object of which could scarcely have only been to divide and deceive the enemy. Discontented Bohemian noblemen, such as Counts Terzky and Kinsky, crafty commissioners like Resina, had, though disclaiming Wallenstein's responsibility, undertaken various correspondence, in which he must have had some participation, for the acts and omissions of his inexplicable plan of warfare are entirely in accordance with it ; and in spite of Förster's attempt (in three volumes) to clear the Duke of suspicion, few persons will conclude that he was not implicated in these things.

The negotiations themselves certainly admit of a harmless explanation. Wallenstein was aware of the discontent between Saxony and Sweden. If, therefore, he first put

himself into communication with Saxony, there was nothing treacherous in that; his object might be to divide the enemy. Besides, the right of negotiating had undoubtedly been granted him.

The policy of the Edict of Restitution was not his affair; he wished for an acceptable peace based on a reconciliation between the creeds, as did Saxony also, and therefore he might well enter into an agreement with Arnim. It was also as much the interest of the Imperialists as of Saxony, to expel the Swedes by one means or another from German soil.*

Thus these things may be looked at without prejudice to him on the principle, *Quilibet præsumentur bonus*.

But Wallenstein was not the man to establish an honourable peace which would have served the good cause.

He was not given to truth and openness; he was fond of mysterious intrigues for their own sake, apart from their purpose, and he always had the lofty schemes of personal ambition in view which his astrological researches pointed out to him as ends to be easily attained. Even had the peace which he was projecting been an honourable one, which would better have served the great German cause, for Max of Bavaria and the Jesuits of the Court of Vienna it was treason to everything that they held sacred.

These transactions did not long remain secret. The universal dissatisfaction with his mode of carrying on the war, or rather *not* carrying it on, gave reason enough for putting the worst construction upon the rumours that were flying about, and foes were not wanting at Vienna and Munich who zealously fomented discontent with him, and late in the summer of 1633 an outbreak could be foreseen.

* Compare the expressions attributed to him by Chemnitz, II. 135, and Khevenhiller, XII. 578, on the occasion of the armistice of July.

214 THIRD PHASE OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

Wallenstein, therefore, began to consider his plan of retreat before it should take place. But the negotiations were dragging slowly on ; Sweden and France had been sounded ; no agreement had been come to with Saxony, for the unfathomable cunning of the Friedlander excited distrust.

By the end of 1633 the situation of affairs was such that it was no longer possible to think of honourable negotiations or the danger of probable complications ; the complications were at hand, the danger was present, and the breach could be calculated on beforehand.

When the idea of real treason or open revolt began to take possession of Wallenstein's mind, it is impossible to decide, in spite of all the materials collected and published by Förster, Aretin, Dudik, and Helbig. That he did not to the last entertain any such idea, as Förster thinks, is consistent only with a very ingenious interpretation of the documents.

It is probable, however, that after November and December, 1633, Wallenstein was more and more convinced that his position was untenable, saw that his influence at Vienna was coming to an end, and that his enemies there would again succeed in compassing his fall. He did not choose to be surprised by it ; it could but cast him down lower than before, for he stood higher than even the Emperor himself, and he would probably not be in a position to retire as a misunderstood magnate to his estates.

He therefore preferred to come to some agreement with Sweden, Saxony, and France, which should compel the Emperor, on the basis of the religious peace and the amnesty, to lay down his arms, and to acknowledge him as King of Bohemia, and which should at the same time enable him to slake his revenge on the Elector of Bavaria. It was in this spirit that Terzky and Kinsky negotiated,

and during the last few weeks of the year in such a manner as to frustrate any attempts at justification.

The Elector of Saxony felt the approach of the crisis, and began to treat more seriously than before, but was desirous of discovering whether he could trust Wallenstein.

Various negotiations went on in December, which were intended to clear the ground. There is a letter of Count Terzky to Kinsky, under date of December 26th, in which he says, "that he is to send passes to the Duke Francis Albert of Saxe-Lauenburg—who was going to and fro between the camps—to enable him to go to Bohemia, that they may make terms with him—he was treating in the name of Saxony—'for the Duke is resolved to enter into an agreement not only with the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, but also with Sweden and France. We shall not need the French army, but we shall need their money. The master will therefore soon come. We are preparing to unite our armies in fourteen days, and to lay aside the mask.'"

About this time also the Elector of Saxony sent over his personal friend, Colonel Schlieffen, that the above-mentioned agreement might be discussed. The despatches among the Dresden archives have been made known. The contents bear the most obvious marks of internal probability. Wallenstein says, among other things, "Spain is trying to establish a world-wide dominion: that he would not permit. Neither was the King of France to be permitted to cross the Rhine. The Palatinate must be restored, and France settled with somehow. He would himself drive the Spaniards from Flanders and Artois. There would be no great difficulty with Sweden, if she were indemnified on the North Sea. The Electors and bishops must have their bishoprics again. To the Duke of Weimar something in Alsace may be given, or in Bavaria, the

216 THIRD PHASE OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

'Elector of which,' remarks the ambassador, 'the Duke intends entirely to annihilate.'"

A few days afterwards the Elector sent another ambassador, and Wallenstein declared that he had nothing to add to what had been stated to Colonel Schlieffen.

Wallenstein wished, in possession of all the forces of the defenceless Emperor, to extort a peace which would empower him to settle with France and Sweden, to annihilate Bavaria, and to effect a reconciliation with the Protestants. There is nothing in the despatch as to what he proposed for himself. Bohemia is not mentioned, but it is highly probable that he had no intention of "leaving this country to the empire," like the Tyrol, but that he had selected it as his own price for the peace. But, of course, he would not say so to the Saxon ambassador.

The object, therefore, was, in defiance of the League and the Edict of Restitution, to conclude a peace with the Emperor, which, to a certain extent, coincided with Richelieu's plans, and which might reckon on popularity in Germany itself.

The distracted nation was thoroughly tired of the war, which had nearly lost all significance, and this peace would have a reasonable basis in the restoration of the exiles and the toleration of Protestantism, which would give Wallenstein the support of hundreds of thousands of Germans. He certainly would have all the Protestants on his side, and probably all the Catholics, who were convinced of the impossibility of carrying out the Edict of Restitution.

But it was decidedly not an imperial policy, and it was obvious that the Court of Vienna would endeavour to wrest the army which should protect Austria from such hands.

But this was no easy matter. The army was so completely in Wallenstein's power that it was doubtful whether

he could be got rid of without inciting it to rebellion. Still, he had offended many of the generals, and made irreconcilable enemies of them. He was fond of boasting that he had thrust aside the Spaniards, Italians, and Walloons in favour of the Germans, so they would soonest fall away. A number of duels afterwards took place between them and the Germans, and the Germans have never been persuaded that the Italians were not his assassins.*

It is some mitigation of the guilt of the horrible deed, that at Vienna,—itself in the greatest peril,—there was really no power after the Treaty of Znaym to separate the man from his army. The only thing that could be done was to divide the army, and then employ some subordinate instrument.

About the middle of January, 1634, Wallenstein took a step at Pilsen which proved to the Emperor that the moment for action was come. The Emperor had desired him to set apart 6,000 men for the support of the Cardinal Infante of Spain, who was coming to the aid of Hapsburg, and to set out to re-conquer Ratisbon. Wallenstein would do neither the one nor the other, and secured the like disobedience from the officers. On the 11th of January they were summoned to Pilsen. Wallenstein communicated to them through his confidants, that under such circumstances he should be compelled to lay down the command, and asked what they, who were enlisted on his credit, thought of it. The officers begged him to retain it as a personal favour to them. Twice he declined, but finally informed them through Illo, that on one condition he would

* Hurter in Wallenstein's letzten Lebensjahre, p. 377, calls attention to the fact that his bitterest enemies, Aldringen, Maradas, Suys, Hatzfeld, Colloredo, Wangler, were not Italians, and that the most distinguished among the Italians, Gallas and Piccolomini, remained faithful to him the longest.

218 THIRD PHASE OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

alter his resolution, namely, that they should swear to hold by him, and not swerve from their allegiance. To this they all consented, and then Illo produced the well-known Bond, in which the following was the chief clause : *—"Seeing what distress, misery, and ruin would result to them and their poor soldiers from the Duke's retirement, they earnestly entreated his highness not to allow any weight to the motives for it; not to forsake the army without their knowledge and consent, in consideration of which they take an oath to stand faithfully by your highness; not to forsake you, to do all that tends to the preservation of yourself and the army; to shed our last drop of blood for this cause; to regard every one who acts inimically to it as a faithless and perjured person, on whose possessions, person, and life we are bound to take revenge." Whether the limitation clause, "without prejudice to allegiance to the Emperor," was used in reading it, we do not know; it is certain that it was not inserted in the document presented for signature. It was signed by forty-two persons, and the new oath was celebrated by a great banquet on the 12th of January.

Wallenstein continued to write the most affectionate letters to the Emperor, and received the most affectionate letters from Vienna. Each tries to deceive the other, for each feels that the time was come for decisive action. Information now came from Vienna to the foreign elements of the army that well-founded suspicions were entertained against Wallenstein; it was their duty to keep the army for the Emperor. Gallas came with an imperial patent, which released "all honourable officers, cavaliers, and soldiers from obedience to Wallenstein and his creatures Illo and Terzky, and placed them under the command of Gallas. The document was first of all circulated confidentially, and,

* Authenticated by Aretin. Urkunde, 31.

when most of the regiments were secured, publicly proclaimed on the 22nd of February with beating of drums at Prague.

Wallenstein had been losing precious time in astrology and scribbling. When the mysterious messages became more and more urgent and more and more gloomy, he issued his commands, but they were little or not at all obeyed, and on the 23rd of February he left Pilsen. On the evening of the 24th he met the remnant of his faithful followers, from five to six thousand men, at Eger. In the evening there was a noisy banquet; when the wine had had its effect, Butler's dragoons fell upon Kinsky and Terzky, and cut them down amidst cries of "Long live Ferdinand!" Soon afterwards, Wallenstein himself, who had just been again reading the stars with his astrologer, was struck down in his bedchamber.

No definite orders had been given at Vienna; the instructions had only been to secure the Duke, dead or alive. It appears that the accomplishment of the rightly interpreted command was intrusted to subordinates, foreign adventurers, such as Butler and Deveroux. It will never be known whose hand struck the blow.*

The horrible manner in which Wallenstein was slaughtered makes the impression of an execution of the victim of an abominable intrigue. This was the opinion of the contemporary world, who compared the tragic end of the man with his former greatness, and the Court of Vienna did all it could to support this view, for the murderers afterwards became inconvenient to it at Vienna. They

* In one of the archives of the war at Vienna, in a petition to the King of Hungary, Deveroux is said to have confessed to having been the man who conducted the halberdiers to Wallenstein's chamber.—Hurter, p. 437.

220 THIRD PHASE OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

were rewarded, and then a justification of the murder was drawn up, as the most convenient mode of getting rid of the traitor. The Duke was murdered "because the dead cannot bite," and the Emperor allowed it all to be put down to his account. He even afterwards had a sort of official justification published, entitled, "*Perduellionis chaos*," in which the proofs adduced are so insufficient and so badly put together that it is impossible to help thinking that the Court really had no conclusive reasons for it.

That they had no documentary proof against Wallenstein at Vienna does not prove his innocence; and time has brought evidence of his guilt to light, and proved that the Court of Vienna was justified if it was morally convinced that Wallenstein was in its sense a traitor.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

THE WAR FROM THE BATTLE OF NÖRDLINGEN, 1634, TO BERNHARD'S DEATH, 1639.

Defeat of the Swedish army at Nördlingen.—Oxenstierna's fruitless negotiations.—The peace of Prague, 1635.—Its significance and results.—Baner's victories and vicissitudes, 1636-7.—Victories and death of Bernhard of Weimar, 1638-9.

THE BATTLE OF NÖRDLINGEN ; DEFEAT OF THE SWEDISH ARMY.

THESE events explain the inactivity with which the war dragged on in 1633 and the first half of 1634. The Swedes were lamed by want of unity amongst their leaders, the Imperialists by Wallenstein's treachery and catastrophe. But the second half of 1634 brought a change. The Imperial leaders, chiefly by the help of the divisions in the Swedish camp, gained a decisive victory in September, which caused the misfortunes of 1631 and 1632 to be forgotten ; and now Richelieu secured the command which for four years had been persistently refused him. The affairs of Sweden and Germany are henceforth indissolubly connected with French policy.

The first half of the new year brought with it no decisive military events ; a certain confusion, which is quite intelligible, had crept into the imperial camp, and that the enemy did not take better advantage of this was caused by their

222 THIRD PHASE OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

own want of unity, particularly by dissensions between Bernhard and Horn, Oxenstierna's son-in-law. The Imperialists gained some isolated victories in Bavaria, but in lower Germany they lost Hildesheim ; in the south, Philippsburg was obliged to capitulate, and the army of Lorraine suffered a fresh defeat, which resulted in the expulsion of the house. The French had not only gained a firm footing here, but also on the Rhine, and had taken possession of some fortresses in Alsace which Andre had conquered. The French had obviously gained in territory.

Oxenstierna had meanwhile been extremely active. Full of anxiety on account of Bernhard's efforts to assert his independence, the growing assumption of the French, and the ambiguous conduct of the Saxons, on the 6th of February he convened a meeting of the representatives of the district of lower and central Germany, and sought to gain accessions for the League of Heilbronn. His endeavours were fruitless, and at Frankfort, where the representatives of Upper and Lower Germany met in April, it was no better. Feuquieres had gained adherents in the south partly by means of money. The votes were not in favour of the Swedish command. Brandenburg, though not against the League in itself, became excited when there was a talk of indemnifying Sweden by Pomerania, which was quite intelligible ; and Saxony openly opposed the League of Heilbronn. So there was no prospect of success for the Swedish proposition ; but neither did France attain her wishes. She demanded that Philippsburg should be given up under a solemn promise to restore it without any other "reward or indemnity," "que l'honneur de vous avoir assisté avec la sincérité et généreuse conduite qui accompagnent toutes les actions royales." The states of Upper Germany were disposed to accede, but Saxony put a veto on it, and there

it ended. Thus the meeting was fruitless, and presented the unedifying spectacle of selfish action without unity, or any more lofty views. It was unmistakable that the interests of Swedish and French command were in almost open hostility. Meanwhile the imperial army, 25,000 strong, had reached the upper Palatinate.

It is a proof of the excellence of the organization of Wallenstein's army, that although intended for totally different political objects, it now permitted itself to be employed in accordance with the Emperor's views, and that it was so efficient under far inferior leaders. Those who replaced Wallenstein were not likely to cause his loss to be forgotten. Neither Gallas nor Ferdinand's son, the King of Rome, an inexperienced youth, were likely to do so ; yet by the end of six months the army was not only in an efficient state, but for the first time since 1630 gained a decisive victory, which not only completely changed the aspect of the military situation, but produced perceptible political results during the rest of the war.

After the end of May the imperial army directed its steps from the Upper Palatinate towards Ratisbon. The Swedish troops, diminished as they were, were divided into two armies. Horn was on the Lake of Constance, to prevent the advance of the Cardinal Infanto, who was coming by tedious marches from Lombardy, and Bernhard was trying to protect Ratisbon. They were on very bad terms ; each cast reproaches on the other, and they did not unite their troops till the 12th of July. By this time they had 22,000 men assembled near Augsburg ; it was too late. They did indeed take Landshut by storm on the 22nd of July, but when they slowly advanced thence, Ratisbon had already fallen, after a brave resistance, on the 26th, and they had to retreat to Augsburg. At the same time Baner and the

224 THIRD PHASE OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

Saxons in Bohemia were advancing successfully, Hildesheim in nether Saxony had fallen, but the great danger was that the Cardinal Infanto would join the Imperial army, and then all South Germany would be lost.

Bernhard and Horn had at first separated, then united again near Günzberg; but their armies, consisting of scarcely 10,000 efficient men, exhausted and famished, were in a pitiful condition. Bernhard wrote to Oxenstierna that "as the enemy gave him no rest to recover himself, the chancellor must find another army to meet the enemy."

Meanwhile the imperial army, before the arrival of the Spaniards, after taking Donauwörth, had turned towards Nördlingen. In order to save Würtemberg, Bernhard and Horn crossed the Danube near Leipheim and Günzberg, encamped themselves securely near Bopfingen, and sent reinforcements to Nördlingen; but they could not prevent the enemy's cavalry from devastating Franconia and Swabia. The situation of the Swedes appeared so hopeless that, on the 26th of August, Oxenstierna signed a treaty with Feuquieres by which Philippsburg was given over to the French, to be garrisoned by French and German troops as a pledge to be restored in time of peace. Even with the promised French help, there was but small prospect of success, for the Cardinal Infanto had brought from twelve to fifteen thousand men to his cousin, and the imperial army, consisting of Spaniards, Italians, Germans, &c., was standing thirty thousand strong before Nördlingen.

The troops of Bernhard and Horn did not amount to more than 24,000 men. Bernhard advised to give battle, Horn to wait for the reinforcements. On the 5th of September they approached the town, and by a successful surprise of the enemy obtained a good position; but all attempts on the 6th to drive the enemy from theirs were in

vain. The loss was so great and the prospect of success so small, that about noon Bernhard advised to discontinue the battle; but the enemy divined their purpose, and pursued them so hotly that the retreat became a desperate flight. Bernhard escaped with difficulty in the tumult, and Horn was taken prisoner. The loss was reckoned at 12,000 dead and 6,000 prisoners. The might of the army of Gustavus Adolphus was destroyed. Swabia was now defenceless; the Duke of Wurtemberg and his troops fled; Bernhard attempted to dam the stream, but it was no longer possible. By the middle of September the wild hordes of cavalry rushed on, took Göppingen and Heilbronn, and made sad havoc in Waiblingen, the vale of Weinsberg, and all unprotected places. Thus the supremacy of the Imperial arms was established for three years and a half, and an ardent desire of Richelieu fulfilled.

Sweden's political position experienced the same fate as her military force. The meeting at Frankfort broke up abruptly. Oxenstierna tried in vain to infuse some courage into the leaders, and to induce them to collect their scattered forces and to unite with the troops from Bohemia.

The troops sent from the north to join the remnant of Bernhard's army at Frankfort were an undisciplined set, a scourge to the population, a torment to the officers, and little adapted to promote success. Baner, however, in Bohemia, did not go southwards but northwards, in order at all events to maintain that part of Germany. Even Oxenstierna now urgently solicited French help. In October, two commissioners, Löffler and Streiff, were sent to Paris, in order to settle with France, even, as their instructions expressly stated, at the price of the cession of Alsace.

Meanwhile, before the end of the year, nearly all Franconia was occupied by the Imperialists, and all the country as

226 THIRD PHASE OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

far as Swabia and the Upper Rhine was the scene of horrible barbarities. Calw, in Würtemberg, was almost annihilated. On the 7th of October Philippsburg was given up to the French, and a few days later the dying Count Otto Ludwig ceded to them the fortresses in Upper Alsace.

Meanwhile, Löffler and Streiff arrived at Paris. Richelieu was well pleased to make considerable conquests without sacrifice or war, and was not disposed to leave this pleasant path without occasion. The offers of the German ambassadors had meanwhile been forestalled by the course of events, and this they were disdainfully made to feel at Paris. There was no inclination to give either pecuniary or military aid; so on the 1st of November they were compelled to agree to an ignominious treaty which only gave conditional promise of French help, but definitely ceded important pledges to France. In return for a place in the sittings of the Confederation, participation in the conduct of the war, the fortresses and Alsace, nothing was granted but an engagement to support 12,000 men, either Germans or troops of some other nation, to be commanded by a prince belonging to the German Confederation, and a payment once for all of 500,000 livres.

At Worms, where a number of the States of the Empire had assembled around Oxenstierna, they were willing to agree to it, being utterly powerless, and having nothing more to lose. But Oxenstierna would not sign, and sent Hugo Grotius to Paris to negotiate on some other basis. Meanwhile Heidelberg, which had been so repeatedly threatened, was relieved with the aid of the French troops who were summoned across the Rhine, and thus for the first time French arms were openly employed against the Emperor. Up to this time a secret game had been played; France had been carrying on war without declaring it.

THE PEACE OF PRAGUE, 30TH OF MAY, 1635.

The defeat at Nördlingen had thrust down the Swedish army and policy from the commanding position which Gustavus Adolphus had acquired for them; the army, not only because it had for the first time lost a great battle after being considered, and having really been for four years invincible, but still more because the original character of the army, already greatly changed, was now entirely lost. Some gaps had been made in the old Swedish army with its national and religious stamp, even under Gustavus Adolphus, but they were well filled up with material which, though serviceable in a military point of view, had considerably changed the character of the army. After this great defeat they could not afford to be nice in the choice of material, and had to put up with a homeless rabble of fugitives and deserters, whose lawlessness soon made the Swedish army equal to, if not worse, than others in wickedness. Even the first corps which Oxenstierna collected at Frankfort in order, in case of need, to oppose the advancing Imperialists, showed what miserable creatures they were getting together. To keep them from open mutiny he had to extort 100,000 florins from the free city, and, to rid it of their wild doings, Bernhard was obliged to lead them across the Rhine, their track being everywhere marked by boundless excesses.

The Swedish policy in the German war did not recover from the defeat at Nördlingen. Sweden immediately lost her most important allies in the camp of the German princes. At a time of great distress, when both enemies were already in the country, Saxony had been pressed into alliance with Sweden; but the Saxon court, full of mistrust of Gustavus Adolphus, had constantly chafed against the

228 THIRD PHASE OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

alliance, and only joined in the war by halves for the sake of appearances. When his military successes were at their height, Gustavus Adolphus had left the march through Bohemia to Vienna to the Saxons, because he wished to compel them to open enmity with the Emperor, and feared, in case of non-success on his part, to see them immediately rejoin the Hapsburg party. If this was the position of affairs when the Swedish arms were at the height of their fame and under the impression of the victory of Breitenfeld, it was clear that now, after the defeat of Nördlingen, nothing would outweigh the imperial influence in Saxony. The 6th of September was the signal for a treaty between the Saxon Court and the Emperor. It also involved a change in the relations between Sweden and France.

Richelieu had laboured unceasingly to gain an influence in the German difficulties ; Gustavus Adolphus had accepted his subsidies, but absolutely forbidden any interference with his plans. After the King's death, Oxenstierna had hoped to keep the French co-operation within the same limits, and to a certain extent he succeeded. But after the defeat of Nördlingen all this was changed. Richelieu was no longer a burdensome interloper to be outwitted, but a desired ally for a little help from whom, great sacrifices must be made.

In short, the battle destroyed the Swedish army, ripened the long-cherished ideas of the two North German Electors of entering into separate treaties with the Emperor, and brought about a closer approach between Sweden and France, in that they now assumed the conduct of the German war on terms of equality.

Meanwhile, the military events of the first part of 1635 showed the superiority of the imperial and the inefficiency of the Swedish-French arms. In January the Imperialists took Philippsburg from the French by a successful surprise ;

John of Werth also succeeded in surprising Spire ; and in March the Spaniards took Treves, and carried off the Elector as a prisoner.

These misfortunes, however, only disturbed Richelieu's diplomacy on the surface ; he quietly pursued his way. It was his perpetual aim to deprive the Swedes of the command, to form a French party among the German princes, and by means of subsidies to attach the Duke of Weimar to his interests. The progress of Spain finally led in this case also, to a breach in this unnatural alliance.

On the 8th of February, Richelieu had concluded a treaty with Holland against Spain, and in May followed the declaration of war.

A few days after, the Peace of Prague * between Saxony and the Emperor was signed ; the conditions had been previously discussed on the 24th of November at Pirna.

The affair did not do much honour to the diplomacy of Electoral Saxony. At first the Elector made large demands, and then allowed himself to be miserably intimidated at Pirna. He then held fast to the Pirna preliminaries in a lump, and disregarded all the remonstrances of the Protestants ; but when the Imperialists proposed a number of alterations he immediately agreed to them.

From the narrow-minded Lutheranism which prevailed at this court, no religious peace could be expected which would include the Reformed party. The opinions held here were those of the court theologian, Hohenegg, who said, "For it is as plain as that the sun shines at mid-day, that the Calvinistic doctrine is full of frightful blasphemy, horrible error and mischief, and is diametrically opposed to God's holy revealed word. To take up arms

* Helbig, *der Prager Friede*. Compare with Rommel, *Gesch. v. Hessen*, viii. 366. Droysen, iii. 132, with Barthold.

230 THIRD PHASE OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

for the Calvinists is nothing else than to serve under the originator of Calvinism—the devil. We ought, indeed, to give our lives for our brethren; but the Calvinists are not our brethren in Christ; to support them would be to offer ourselves and our children to Moloch. We ought to love our enemies, but the Calvinists are not *our* enemies, but God's."

The Treaty of Passau and the religious peace of Augsburg were, in a general way, confirmed; but all who did not accept the treaty were excluded, and the subjects of Austria, the inhabitants of the Palatinate, and the members of the council of the confederation, were excepted from the amnesty. The amnesty itself, like everything that concerned ecclesiastical affairs and the fate of the bishoprics, was full of side-doors and purposely designed loopholes, so that a Jesuit of Cologne could write to a fellow of his order who was uneasy about it, "The Elector will lose his reputation by the treaty, and the allies will be divided by taking the bait; everything will be well guarded by clauses, and the concessions will only be apparent. ('*Latet ubique anguis in herba, nihil concessum, nihil conclusum, quod a nostris non fuerit ponderatum et in recessu aliquid habeat.*')"

A subversion of the imperial constitution, also, was involved in the Treaty of Prague. All unions and alliances were by it declared to be at an end, except the electoral union, the hereditary unions of the house of Austria and the hereditary fraternity between Saxony, Hesse, and Brandenburg; the ancient right, therefore, of the princes to conclude treaties was abolished. To this was added the regulation, that for the future there should be only one army in the empire, to be headed by the Emperor, not only as the chief, but sole commander. Finally, it was decreed

that the Duke of Lorraine should be re-instated, which meant that Saxony, who desired peace at the sacrifice of all her allies, should be involved in a war with France, and that in the interests of Austria.

Brandenburg, which, after long vacillation, finally submitted to the Emperor, soon experienced what was meant by the imperial military supremacy. The Elector was no longer master of his own country; his own officers, under oath to the Emperor as well as to himself, established an anarchical military rule of the worst kind.

One thing, however, was noteworthy in this peace. The Emperor, Ferdinand II., in all essential points, with very little exception, gave up the Edict of Restitution for Saxony and Brandenburg. Not that this was brought about by the treaty, but it was the first evidence that the Emperor no longer expected to carry out this ordinance. It required thirteen years more of fearful warfare to prove that it must be given up for the other German states also.

The idea of putting an end, in one way or another, to this unholy war must certainly have been attractive at this doleful period. But the Treaty of Prague held out no prospect of it either to the empire or for the states, who thought they had at least taken good care of themselves. A time of fearful suffering now began for Saxony and Brandenburg; both countries were the victims of a refined brutality; the Imperialists treated them like hostile countries, and the Swedes with the malicious vengeance which is the portion of renegades. The condition into which the countries of North Germany were brought by the peace was a fearful satire upon it.

232 THIRD PHASE OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

WEIMAR IN FRENCH PAY.—BANER'S VICTORIES AND VICISSITUDES. 1636-7.

Before the end of 1635 a favourable turn took place for the Swedish arms.

In the western seat of war Duke Bernhard was fighting with decided ill success. The Imperialists were making unhindered progress on the Rhine and in Alsace, when at length the French appeared in the field with a second army. It consisted of 15,000 men, commanded by the Cardinal de la Valette, youngest son of the Duke of Epernon, and it comprised the flower of the French nobility. That military training now began for them which afterwards produced heroes. Turenne, Guiche, Guebriant, were in this army. But Bernhard had sufficiently painful experience that this corps had not got beyond the very elements of military training. La Valette's delays sent him nearly out of his mind, and, before he came, Kaiserslautern was lost, and the Imperialists gained a firm footing on the left shore of the Rhine. They met at last, and again advanced through the Palatinate, and occupied Kreuznach. While the Cardinal besieged Bingen, Mayence was relieved, but in August, Frankfort was lost. Bernhard now urged La Valette to cross to the right bank of the Rhine, and he was willing to do so, but the Swiss and the French cavaliers in the army opposed it. They were only silenced by threats that the mutineers would be cut down, and by the assurance that William of Hesse was on the other side. So they crossed; but the Landgrave did not come, and both armies were in a very critical situation. The French, who lay before Hochstein, suffered from want and sickness, and mutiny was rife in Bernhard's German regiments. Hard pressed by the enemy, amidst some feats of arms, but on

the whole with great losses, Bernhard made the brilliant retreat to the Saar which won admiration even from the enemy. The Cardinal would not cross the Rhine again, but extolled the excellent military discipline they had passed through, and the warlike merits of the Germans. His soldiers sang a satirical song about him, with the refrain—

‘ Où est le duc de Vimar ? ’

which the Cardinal had always been exclaiming when in difficulties.

In the north, Oxenstierna, who had not been able to accomplish anything at Paris, tried to gather the scattered elements together, but could not succeed in keeping the Duke of Lüneburg on his side, nor in coming to any terms with Saxony. Baner's army consisted of 26,000 men, and was in good condition ; but as they were almost all Germans, the Swedes did not altogether rely upon them. The Elector of Saxony was continually trying to induce the colonels to make peace with the Emperor, and rudely broke off the negotiations with Oxenstierna, by saying he would send his decision to him at Stralsund.

Half in despair, Oxenstierna retreated to Wismar, and left it to Baner, who was in perpetual difficulties, from the defections of the German princes and of his own troops, to hold the middle and lower Elbe until he should succeed in bringing reinforcements to the seat of war, and in forming a new army on the sea-coast.

Meanwhile the Saxons set out to divide the Swedish troops on the Elbe. They proceeded down the river ; and the vanguard of the Swedes, which was weak, yielded ; but on the 1st of November an engagement took place at Dömitz, in which the Saxons were beaten. This was the beginning

234 THIRD PHASE OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

of returning success to the Swedes ; it infused courage into their depressed allies ; the hard-pressed Landgrave of Hesse, especially, gained breathing time, since the imperial army was compelled by this defeat to move towards the north.

Before this an important diplomatic event had taken place, which had a decisive influence on the course of events—the peace negotiations with Poland. It was perfectly clear that war could not be carried on in Germany and in Poland at the same time. But which was to be given up? There was a strong feeling in Sweden for the war with Poland, while Richelieu made every effort to put an end to it, that the Swedes might be at liberty for the war in Germany. With this object, Count d'Avaux was sent to Poland. On the other hand, it was the policy of the Pope and of the Hapsburgs to keep on the war in Poland. At the end of May the negotiations began at Ruhmsdorf, near Marienburg. After much vicissitude and vacillation, and having been more than once threatened by fresh conflicts, they were successfully terminated on the 12th of September, chiefly through D'Avaux's diplomatic energy and virtuosoship. The treaty was honourable and advantageous to the Swedes, and set their armies under Wrangel and Torstenson at liberty for Germany.

The results soon appeared. Baner, united with Torstenson in Mecklenburg, gained several decided advantages. From the 7th to the 17th of September Torstenson defeated the Saxons near Kiritz, and after having boasted that they would drive the Swedes across the sea, they sued ignominiously for a truce. This produced a reaction in the south-west ; William of Hesse again stood firmly by the Swedes.

Towards the end of November, Gallas had to commence a disastrous retreat from Lorraine, and to confine himself

to petty warfare. Nevertheless, in November, Mayence, after having been held for four years by the Swedes, was ceded again by capitulation. The Rhine district was then invaded by wild foreign visitors, the Cossacks and Hussars, and the distress in the whole western part of the empire fearfully increased.

Richelieu, who had gained an important diplomatic victory by means of D'Avaux, was not satisfied with the way in which the war was carried on. This is shown by the severe punishments which he ordained, and still more plainly by the decided connection into which he now entered with Bernhard of Weimar. In the summer, on discussing the subject with La Valette and other French generals, he had convinced himself that nothing was to be done without the Duke. In July he had conjured La Valette to neglect nothing which was calculated to secure the Duke for the interests of France. If Alsace failed, he should be provided for in Lorraine; should that fail too, France would take care of him.

On the 27th of October a formal treaty was entered into at St. Germain between France and Weimar.* He was to maintain an army of 18,000 Germans for an annual grant of 4,000,000 livres, of which 200,000 were to be allotted for the Duke's income. Besides this, the Landgraviate of Alsace and the prefecture of Hagenau, with all the rights of the House of Austria, were to be made over to him, with one condition only, that the Catholic religion should be upheld. For this territory compensation was to be made in time of peace. The Duke was to place his army under the King of France, and to promise to lead it wherever he should desire.

The Duke did not conceal from himself the importance

* Rôse, ii. 467-469, 479.

236 THIRD PHASE OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

of this treaty, and took special care not to disturb the opinion of his troops that he was in the field only as an independent ally of France ; but he wanted the French, and trusted that he should be able to abide by the treaty without forfeiting his independence. He went through various painful experiences on his way to Paris, but maintained a princely bearing at the Court, where they tried to allure him by banquets and beautiful women. In the subsequent conduct of the war he successfully imitated his model, Gustavus Adolphus, and was in fact much more independent than might have been expected from the conditions of the treaty. He was his own master, but carried on the war with French money.

The time had now arrived when the remnant of the Swedish army regained its importance. Saxony and Brandenburg were once more drawn into the war, and were fearfully chastised for the separate treaties they had made.

The most able man whom Sweden now possessed was Baner. He was a thorough soldier, steeled and hardened in all weathers, and exhibited a certain blustering indifference to death and danger. He was an active and skilful general, and was the first of the successors of Gustavus under whom the Swedish arms achieved victory again ; but he was also a complete representative of this later period of the war, for he carried it on without any lofty aims, solely as a business which brought with it gain, enjoyment, and revelry. He gave himself up to pleasure and excess like the soldiers under his command, was a wild, lawless fellow, a creature of the army and the age ; but he possessed the military ability of a generation who knew peace only by name, and who had grown up amidst the rough gales of fearful conflicts.

But the war had assumed a character at which even Baner sometimes shuddered. He once said of his own

soldiers that it would be no marvel if the earth opened and swallowed up such shameless wantons.

It was he who brought the scourge of this war into unfortunate electoral Saxony. He had first invaded the country in January and February, 1636, but not being strong enough to advance further, he had retreated to a post of observation in a camp near Werben. While he was lying still here, and, as far as it was possible in his painful pecuniary embarrassments, obtaining reinforcements with French money, the imperial troops under Peter Götz were devastating Lower Hesse and part of Westphalia. Eighteen towns and three hundred villages were ruined, forty-seven castles burnt, and one third of the population disappeared, and John of Werth, with his hordes of cavalry, was terrifying the neighbourhood of Paris. "Jean de Werth" threw the capital of France into a panic of fear, and the people were preparing for the horrors of a visit from these dreaded horsemen. Richelieu alone, on whose head imprecations were called down, maintained a manly attitude, and with imposing calmness faced the furious mob. It was shown once more what the French were as a nation; they readily furnished money and troops when necessity required. When a large army was equipped the panic subsided, and the enemy would not have been able long to remain on French soil if want of skill in the command, dissensions, and political intrigues had not lamed the defensive efforts of the people.

They were, however, at length relieved by the first great victory which Baner meanwhile had gained in the north.

At the end of September he had again advanced against the Saxons, and overtaken the Elector and Hatzfeld near Wittstock. On the 4th of October a sanguinary and long-doubtful struggle took place, which, however, ended in the

retreat of the Saxons and Imperialists. Six thousand men and the baggage and artillery of the Elector were left in the field of battle. The results, if not to be compared with those of the victory of Nördlingen, were sufficient to be important. They inspired fresh hopes into Austria's enemies. Saxony's defection recoiled with a heavy weight upon the instigators of it; France was relieved; Denmark returned to quiet; and those who had lately gone over, such as the Duke of Lüneburg, were placed in a most painful situation.

In November, Baner proceeded southwards to Saxony and Thuringia, and made inroads as far as the Rhine. These unfortunate countries suffered fearful devastation from both friends and foes. In December, he again moved towards electoral Saxony, subdued Erfurt, and then advanced by way of Naumburg to Meissen, in order to intercept a meeting of John George of Saxony with the troops of Brandenburg.

At this time, the 22nd of December, 1636, the son of the Emperor Ferdinand II. was elected King of Rome. This had been attempted unsuccessfully before, and was now accomplished without opposition—the Elector of Treves was in prison, of the Palatinate in exile, the Duke of Bavaria not generally acknowledged—but just then an important success for the imperial cause. On the 25th of February of the following year Ferdinand II. died.

The year 1637 brought increasing success to the imperialists, so that they were able to project the expulsion of the Swedes from German soil. But then they did not have displaced competent leaders like John of Saxe and have put a man like Gallas at their head, who forgot his duty in the pleasures of a luxurious camp-life.

Electoral Brandenburg now zealously took part in the war. George William entered into a treaty with

Emperor at Prague, in which he agreed to raise an army of 7,000 men in Brandenburg and Pomerania, which was to swear fealty both to the Elector and the Emperor.

Meanwhile, Baner had been shut in at Torgau by a force at least double his own, and he was obliged to be on the alert lest he and his troops should be lost. He resolved to retire to the coast and maintain his position in Pomerania. There was a dexterous rumour that he would appear before Erfurt, and a detachment of the imperial army was therefore kept on the left shore. Baner then crossed the Elster near Herzberg, and, proceeding by way of Luckau and Lübben, reached the Oder near Fürstenberg, and crossed it in shallow places. But as he was proceeding to Landsberg on the Warthe, he was pursued by the Imperialists by way of Jüterbogk, Baruth, and Küstrin, and on the 4th of July they were before Landsberg, while Wrangel, who was to advance from Pomerania to meet Baner, had only reached Schwedt. Once again Baner deceived the enemy. Pretending that he was going through Poland, he returned to the Oder, waded through the shallow stream opposite Göritz, and on the 13th of July joined Wrangel's vanguard. The forces of both then retreated to Stettin.

VICTORIES AND DEATH OF BERNHARD OF WEIMAR.

1638-9.

Neither the armies nor the generals who had been carrying on the war in Germany for the last four years showed a trace of its original object, either in their character or proceedings; on all sides there was the same degeneracy, the same lawless doings of homeless soldiers, who only cared to live through a few merry years amidst the universal misery. Among the common soldiers this was indicated by incredible bestiality; by their leaders in the same manner,

though in a less degree. Every sentiment of patriotism, faith, justice, and morality had utterly perished in the vortex of unbridled passions. Richelieu's tenacious policy and Austria's blind zeal for conversion are the only remaining symptoms of a conscious purpose.

Under such circumstances Bernhard of Weimar acquired a renown which would not otherwise have been his part.

He was the most gifted of all the princely adventurers who were hoping to gain a principality in this great chance—the only one among the generals who had not degenerated into a homeless hireling. In Germany he forgot that he was a French field-marshal, for he no longer was in spite of the Treaty of St. Germain, had maintained a certain independence towards the French, but raised his German army to make himself independent both of the French and the Swedes. He took advantage of the quarrel between the Germans, the Swedes, and the French, and appeared everywhere as the champion of Protestantism against the Catholics. To add to this now, there were his brilliant military achievements, which put even those of Baner in the shade, and seemed to bring back the days of Gustavus Adolphus. Up to this time the jealousy of the Emperor had not allowed him to develop his talents to the full. He had always been placed in the second rank, but now he acted independently, and with a skill like that of Gustavus Adolphus, he created an army of his own, and it could be denied that it bore that decided stamp which German military officers, and German military skill conferred on an army. In a surprisingly short time he had a splendid reputation in the field, and after the beginning of 1638 accomplished feats which placed him among the ranks of the first generals of his time.

The Treaty of St. Germain had not been fully carried out.

by the French. Months had passed in vexatious negotiations about the bare performance of their engagements. At length, in April, 1637, an agreement had been come to. Bernhard only received two million and a half of livres, and only 10,000 men, instead of the 20,000 he had hoped for. Then, to please Richelieu, he was obliged to agree to defend Lorraine, and several weeks passed before pressing pecuniary difficulties permitted the expedition to begin. Nothing decisive could take place in that year, and it was with difficulty that Bernhard obtained leave, after some progress had been made, to cross the Rhine, and come to Baner's relief.

The Rhine was crossed at the end of July ; the first attacks of John of Werth were successfully repulsed, but it was not possible to maintain the right bank without reinforcements, in face of the increasing forces of the enemy. In October, Bernhard commenced a retreat, and spent the winter months in the bishopric of Basle, continually negotiating with the Court at Paris, who at length agreed, in February, to pay the arrears of 2,400,000 livres for the new year ; but instead of the 8,000 men whom Bernhard demanded, he only received an indefinite promise of a considerable force on the left shore of the Rhine.

But before Bernhard received this intelligence he had taken decisive action on his own account. Relying upon the Imperialists being dispersed in their winter quarters, and the discord among the generals, on the 27th of January he set out in profound secrecy from near Delsberg ; on the 29th suddenly invaded the Frickthal ; on the 30th crossed the Rhine in fishing-boats, surprised Säckingen and Laufenburg, destroyed a hostile regiment ; on the 1st of February took Beuggen and Waldshut, and the next day appeared before Rheinfelden, and besieged it with great vigour.

242 THIRD PHASE OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

The Imperialists, in their scattered cantonments, now began to bestir themselves ; the peasants of Schwarzwald were called upon, and, just when Rheinfelden was reduced to extremity, Savelli and Werth came to the relief of the country round Beuggen. An engagement took place near Rheinfelden, where the Imperialists, after a hot and disastrous combat on both sides, succeeded in getting help and provisions into the town, and compelled Bernhard to raise the siege.

But owing to the want of system in the imperial army and the dissensions and confusion at head-quarters, this success was not turned to advantage, and Bernhard formed the bold resolution of at once attacking the careless enemy. In the early morning of the 3rd of March he again appeared before Beuggen. The Imperialists now suffered a complete defeat ; the army was dispersed in wild disorder, and the surviving generals, among them John of Werth, were taken prisoners.

A few days afterwards a treaty was signed between France and Sweden at Hamburg, by which they made common cause ; subsidies from France were stipulated for, for the past and the future, and it was agreed that peace negotiations should only be undertaken in common.

As a result of the victory of Rheinfelden, the town, the neighbouring fortresses, and soon Freiburg, also fell into Bernhard's hands, and his troops extended themselves over Swabia ; only Breifach offered an obstacle on the Upper Rhine.

Meanwhile the Imperialists sent reinforcements to the new commander, Götz ; but their warfare was wanting in unity and spirit. After sundry skirmishes, Bernhard attacked them at the beginning of August in the Ortenau. He advanced by way of Kenzingen, Mahlberg, and Lahr, towards Schuttern, and secured the bridges near Dinglingen and

Friesenheim. Götz took up a good position near. When, on the morning of the 9th of August, the vanguard set out for Breifach, Bernhard began his attack. Although taken by surprise, the Imperialists and Bavarians, near Wittenweyer, fought with great obstinacy, and were only beaten after a long and changeful contest. Three thousand men, artillery, trophies, and the provisions intended for Breifach, as well as camp and baggage, fell into the hands of the victors. By the middle of August Bernhard again stood before Breifach.

This change in the south reacted upon the northern theatre of war, for the imperial forces there were diminished. Baner once more gained ground in Pomerania, and the change was felt in Hesse. But Bernhard's victory would have been followed by greater results if the French had given him substantial help, instead of fair speeches only. He complained bitterly of the non-fulfilment of their promises, and predicted the loss of the advantages gained, and his own defeat. Nevertheless, the repeated attempts of the imperial party to gain him over were entirely unheeded.

The siege of Breifach was now begun in earnest ; but the promised help from France either did not come at all or was ineffective when it did.

From a sick-bed at Colmar, Bernhard did all that it was possible for man to do to frustrate all attempts to make peace until he should receive succour and supplies. On the 15th of October the Duke of Lorraine was beaten at Tann. On the 24th there was a long and doubtful contest in the lines about Breifach ; but Bernhard, who was still ill, was carried out of his tent, and was this time powerfully aided by Guebriant and Turenne, finally carried the day, after his assaults had been seven times repulsed.

244 THIRD PHASE OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

On the 1st of November, Lorraine was a second time defeated, and the last outworks of the fortress were lost, though everything was done on the imperial side to save them. Götz was recalled, doubts having arisen about his loyalty, and he was subjected to a tedious trial; but his successor was not able to do more than lead his exhausted troops back through the Schwarzwald; and how different even then might have been the result if Bernhard had been efficiently supported by the French, instead of having to spend weeks and months in begging for every two or three thousand men.

Reduced to extremities, and without hope of succour, on the 17th of December, Breifach capitulated. The Duke at once established himself comfortably in this fresh acquisition, and filled his French allies with alarm about the formation of this new principality. A glance at the French mode of warfare, as compared with the annihilating blows dealt by Weimar, must have relieved as well as shamed them. Richelieu was right in exclaiming, on receiving the latest news of victory, "*We* have no Duke of Weimar!"

In the north and east, also, the Imperialists had lost their favourable position; Baner was again master in Pomerania and Mecklenburg, and could entertain the idea of joining Bernhard's operations.

Bernhard's feats had a wonderfully inspiring effect in Protestant Germany. In the course of a few months he had been victorious in a number of engagements, taken fortresses thought to be impregnable, sometimes on the first assault, and within one half year he had restored the supremacy of the Protestant arms in South-west Germany—even in districts which, since 1634, had been sacrificed to jealous reaction. He now restored to the oppressed Protestants an independent existence, drove the Imperialists back to

Bavaria, and achieved moral successes which had been granted to no one since Gustavus Adolphus.

It was this that gave the Duke of Weimar so peculiar a position at this period. The archives do not exhibit him in the most favourable light, but his deeds were dazzling; Richelieu was practically nobody in comparison with him. The army recognised no one but him, and his victories were the greatest exploits of the last six or eight years.

But those short episodes were brilliant meteors, speedily to be extinguished; and it indicates the hopeless state of German affairs, that the day came when the death of Bernhard, the French field-marshal, was a sort of national misfortune. He was the last who, as it were, in French garb and with French money, fought for other than French interests. When he was out of the way the inexhaustible patience of French diplomacy had overcome all obstacles, and Richelieu's endeavours were crowned with success.

Early in the summer of 1639 this change took place. In the spring, Baner had set out for Central Germany; had invaded Saxony, and, encouraged by a victory at Chemnitz, attempted to invade Bohemia. But this turned out most unfortunately. His hopes of a rising among the people were not fulfilled; he was too weak to take Prague, and in June, amidst fearful devastation, he commenced a retreat.

In Paris they vacillated between satisfaction over Bernhard's latest victories and anxiety as to his designs. It had become clear, when he sounded them on the subject in 1638, that they were not disposed to leave him in possession of Breifach. But the affair dragged on. Richelieu reckoned that Bernhard would yield, and had already selected Guebriant as governor. Bernhard remained quiet, and his commissioner referred the subject to communications which he would make personally.

246 THIRD PHASE OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR

Meanwhile, in January, 1639, without consulting any one, Bernhard suddenly set out from Breifach, took the castle of Landskron, and advanced towards Lorraine. The Spaniards and the Duke of Lorraine were surprised. Portarlier and Joux fell, and nearly all this rich country lay open to him.

Even this, satisfactory as it seemed in itself, was a source of fresh anxieties at Paris, and the Duke was still silent about Breifach. All that could be learnt about it was that he would arrange the matter personally at Paris. But warned by the other side, he gave up the journey to Paris, in spite of the most flattering invitations, and tried to subdue the Cardinal's ill-humour by friendly letters.

But it was plain that he was scheming to form a powerful principality out of Alsace, parts of Lorraine, the free earldom, and other Upper Rhenish districts, while the utmost intentions of France were to grant them to him for his lifetime. It was the interest of both to avoid a breach. Bernhard therefore tried to find a solution of the difficulty, and in April sent his commissioner to Paris. He was to represent that the surrender of Breifach would give rise to a suspicion that the empire was overpowered by France, which would displease both the German princes and the Swedes. The Cardinal was ready to pay the promised subsidies, and even some extra supplies; but then the Duke must engage to hold Breifach and the conquered fortresses under his Majesty the King, not to surrender them to any other person, and to give up the disposition of his conquests.

Whether Bernhard would agree to this was very doubtful; but his commissioner accepted an annuity of 20,000 livres, and engaged to guard Breifach for Richelieu, now, and in the event of Bernhard's death, and to furnish Richelieu with private information respecting the Duke.

Meanwhile, Bernhard exercised sovereign rule in the conquered territories, averted the interference of French officials, fostered agriculture, and did what he could to render his rule acceptable to the people. His relations with France were on the verge of an open breach. In July he had discussions with Guebriant at Pontarlier, which nearly led to it. He demanded Alsace and the most important fortresses as a possession, declined to make any concessions of his former or future conquests to France, and demanded larger subsidies.

He left Pontarlier, and arrived on the 14th of July at Hünningen ; there he fell ill, and on the 18th sank under his sufferings.

There were suspicions of poison, for there were spots on his body after his death, for which the medical art of that day could not account ; but this proves nothing, for nothing can be more absurd than the medical reports of those days of the facts and symptoms of an illness. On this and other occasions the impression conveyed is that the fatal result of the malady must be mainly ascribed to the doctor's art.

Still, it is worthy of note that the idea of violence was spread far and wide—allusions were even made to it in the preacher's funeral discourse at the grave—and all agreed in pointing to Richelieu, his ally, in whose service he was fighting, as the author of it. There was an instinct which prompted this improbable notion, for the people had thought :—they are at variance ; the Cardinal takes no pleasure in the Duke's victories ; he wants to get rid of him, that he may put a real French field-marshal in the place of the ostensible one.*

* Rüse, ii. 328, shows how entirely unexpected Bernhard's death was to the French.

248 THIRD PHASE OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

In fact, if ever a man's death was welcome to any one, Bernhard's was to Richelieu. Twice had his purposes been thrust into the background, and he had to play the part of a discontented ally, who had to find the money, but was not permitted to have any voice in the management; now he would be able to get the best army in the world into his own hands, and to pursue his policy with a prospect of success. The French command could no longer be set aside.

As we have seen, Richelieu found it very difficult to create an army commensurate with his aims, and equal to that of the enemy. The French military system was then unusually bad. The feats of the French army were spoken of in that warlike age with the greatest contempt, and the performances of La Valette's army were not calculated to dispel it. The French had fallen into the background, though no one will deny the military efficiency of the nation in itself.

The Duke left a will, in which he bequeathed the command to one of his brothers, and ordained, besides, "As to the conquered countries, and they are very considerable countries and fortresses, we wish them to be preserved to the German empire, and we therefore bequeath and devise them to whichever of our dear brothers shall desire to accept them, and can and will best serve your Majesty and the crown of Sweden, that your Majesties (Ihre Liebden)* may be the better supported in the aforesaid countries."

If neither of the brothers would take them, France was to have the preference; but when peace was made she was to restore them to the empire.

This did not suffice to protect the interest of Germany in the great commotion that arose about the inheritance.

* A title given by sovereign princes to each other.—TR.

Sweden still looked upon the army as a branch of her own ; Bernhard's brothers took steps to gain it for themselves ; even the Emperor had a scheme for gaining possession of it ; but Richelieu was more on the alert than any of them. On the 23th of July, D'Oissonville appeared at Breifach with a handsome sum of money, to bribe the leaders and gain over the fortresses. Longueville was selected as the Duke's successor. Erlach and Guebriant were naturally zealous in the interests of France ; the masses were helpless, the leaders cheap.

It was, of course, but a small matter for Richelieu to put aside this inconvenient will ; still, it was not until October that the business was concluded. Under pretence of maintaining previous agreements intact, new ones were entered into. The army was kept together as a whole ; in return for some considerable rewards, and other immediate advantages, for the engagement to supply provisions and the necessaries of war, and to carry out gifts of land by the deceased, the commanders and officers of the whole army promised allegiance to the King, engaged to serve against any one, to be ready for any enterprise on behalf of the restoration of public liberties and the oppressed classes, as the King might see fit, should it be in France, Burgundy, Lorraine, or the Netherlands. The conquered fortresses should at once, "in accordance with the Duke's will" (!) be made over to the King, Breifach and Freiburg should be garrisoned with half French and half German troops, and commanded according to the King's pleasure.

This was immediately carried out, and the negotiators were handsomely rewarded. The Count Palatine Louis, who too late appeared as a candidate, was detained in France ; Bernhard's brothers were duped, and even deprived of their personal legacies.

250 THIRD PHASE OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

The army was now French ; a Frenchman was at its head. Some French regiments were placed by the side of the German ones, that they might take lessons from them. The army was but moderately commanded for a long time, and suffered a number of defeats ; but it was the school in which Turenne and other great generals were trained, who were to raise France to the position of the greatest military power in Europe.

It was a great thing for Richelieu, who had hitherto only exercised a secondary influence by means of money, and had only attained to a partial co-operation with great difficulty, that he was now all at once relieved from these restraints, and had an army pledged to his service, and entirely supported by him.

These events were the turning-point in the Thirty Years' War, towards which things had been tending ever since the death of Gustavus Adolphus. The twofold interference of France and Sweden determined the last act of the war, and the supremacy of France in Europe is connected with the enlargement of the country by the Peace of Westphalia.

PART XI.

END OF THE WAR. THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA.
1640-48.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

BANER'S END, MAY, 1641, AND TORSTENSON'S VICTORIES,*
1642-5.

Battle of Leipzig, 2nd November, 1643.—Campaign against Denmark, 1643-44.—Victory near Jankowitz, February, 1645.—Simultaneous warfare of the French.—The Peace Negotiations and end of the War.—The Diet of Ratisbon from September, 1640.—Brandenburg's Proposition of Unconditional Amnesty, and Restoration to the Condition of 1618.—The Hamburg Preliminaries, December, 1641.—The Meeting of Deputies at Frankfort, 1642-45.—Beginning of the Peace Congress and end of the War, 1644-48.

BANER'S END, AND TORSTENSON'S VICTORIES.

THE war still went on for eight years, but the only influence that it exerted upon the subsequent Peace was that it overcame the last doubts of the Imperial court as to the indispensable principles of the Peace. The indemnifi-

* Besides the before-mentioned literature, Chemnitz, *Geschichte des Schw. Krieges*, new ed., Stockholm, 1857. Keller, *Drangsale des Nass. Volks im dreissigjährigen Krieg*. Gotha, 1854. *Der Abenteuerliche Simplicissimus*. Neue Ausgabe, Stuttgart, 1854, 2 Bde. Bougeant, *hist. du Traité de Westphalie*, 2 Bde. Meiern, *Acta pacis Westphalicae*, 1734, 6 Bde. Rütter, *Geist des Westphäl. Friedens*, 1795.—Hippolitus Lapide, *de ratione status in Imperio R. Germanico*, 1647.

cation schemes of the governments which had interfered in the conflict were not altered, but until the fourth decade they could not accustom themselves at Vienna to the idea of the amnesty and the restoration of the old treaties of peace. The last few years of the war decidedly conduced to this end.

The first event of importance on the theatre of war after Bernhard's death was Baner's attempt to join the army of Weimar in central Germany. Not in a condition to pass the winter in Bohemia, and threatened in Saxony and Silesia, he did the only thing which rendered the longer tarriance of a Swedish army possible—he resolved to cross the Erzegebirge into Thuringia, to compel the vacillating Hessians and Lüneburgers to help, and to join the French-Weimar army. In March, 1640, he commenced a retreat amidst fearful devastations, crossed the Elbe at Leitmeritz, and arrived April 3rd at Zwickau. He succeeded in joining with the mercenaries of Weimar and the troops of Lüneburg and Hesse at Saalfeld, but want of unity in the command, discord among the princes, the privations that had to be endured in these exhausted countries, and mutiny among the Weimar troops, prevented any joint action. They had to commence a retreat, and to confine themselves to a watchful defensive action. Until December, the war on both sides consisted of marches hither and thither, accompanied with horrible devastation ; but nothing decisive occurred.

In September the Diet met at Ratisbon. While wearisome attempts were being made to bend the obstinacy of Austria, Baner resolved to compel her to yield by a bold stroke, to invade the Upper Palatinate, to surprise Ratisbon, and to put an end to the Diet and Emperor together. At the beginning of September he set out. Not without diff-

culty Guebriant was induced to follow, and to join Baner at Erfurt. At the beginning of January they advanced together towards Baireuth and Bamberg. It was only on January 2nd, when the fugitive country people began to arrive, that the Imperial troops were aware of their advance. But the surprise of Ratisbon was a failure. The Emperor declared that he should remain, and thereby restored the composure of the Diet. Troops were summoned from all sides. Baner and Guebriant did indeed advance as far as Hof, and threw some balls into the town ; but the enterprise was a failure, and a longer tarriance was undesirable.

The armies now separated again. Baner exhausted his powers of persuasion in vain to induce Guebriant to go with him. The French went westward. Hard pressed himself, Baner proceeded by forced marches towards Bohemia, and by the end of March reached Zwickau, where he met Guebriant again, and they had a sharp conflict with the Imperialists on the Saal. There Baner died, on the 21st of May, 1641, leaving his army in a most critical condition.

The warfare of the Swedish-French arms was come to a standstill. Both armies were near dissolution, when, in November, Torstenson, the last of the Gustavus Adolphus school of generals, and the one who most nearly equalled the master, appeared with the Swedish army, and by a few vigorous strokes, which followed each other with unexampled rapidity, restored the supremacy of its arms. These feats were the more remarkable, as Torstenson was so ill with the gout that he could not mount a horse, and had to be carried everywhere in a litter.

After three months of rest, which he mainly devoted to the reorganization and payment of his army, by the middle of January he had advanced towards the Elbe and the Altmark ; and as the Imperial forces were weakened by

sending troops to the Rhine, he formed the great project of proceeding through Silesia to the Austrian hereditary dominions. On April 3rd he crossed the Elbe at Werben, between the Imperial troops, increased his army to 20,000 men, stormed Glogau on May 4th, stood before Schweidnitz on the 30th, and defeated Francis Albert of Lauenburg; Schweidnitz, Neisse, and Oppeln fell into his hands.

Meanwhile Guebriant, after subduing the defiant and mutinous spirit of his troops by means of money and promises, had, on January 17th, defeated the Imperialists near Kempen, not far from Crefeld, for which he was honoured with the dignity of marshal.

But this was a shortlived gleam of light, and was soon followed by dark days, occasioned by want of money and discontent in the camp. An attempt to recruit the army with the country people of Brittany was a failure,* and, more from necessity than from any hope of success, he had turned eastward from the Rhine to seek quarters for his murmuring troops in nether Germany, when Torstenson effected a decision in Saxony.

After relieving Glogau, and having in vain tried to enter Bohemia, he had joined the detachments of Königsmark and Wrangel, and on October 30th he appeared before Leipzig.

On November 2nd there was a battle near Breitenfeld, which ended in a disastrous defeat of the Imperialists. In spite of all the advantages which Torstenson gained for himself, it never came to a united action with the French; and the first victory won by the French in the Netherlands, in May, 1643, did not alter this state of things.

Torstenson was in the way to obtain successes like those of Gustavus Adolphus eleven years before, when he was

* Barthold.

suddenly called to a remote scene of war in the north. King Christian IV. of Denmark had been persuaded, by means of the old Danish jealousy of Sweden, to take up arms for the Emperor. He declared war just as Torstenson was proceeding to Austria. Vienna was now saved ; but so much the worse for Denmark. In forced marches, which were justly admired, Torstenson set out from Silesia towards Denmark at the end of October, conducted a masterly campaign against the Danes, beat them wherever he met with them, conquered Holstein and Schleswig, pushed on to Jutland, then, while Wrangel and Horn carried on the war (till the peace of Brömsebro, August, 1645) he returned, and again took up the war against the Imperialists, everywhere an unvanquished general.

The Imperialists under the incompetent Gallas intended to give Denmark breathing-time by creating a diversion ; but it did not save Denmark, and brought another defeat upon themselves. Gallas did not bring back more than two thousand men from Magdeburg to Bohemia, and they were in a very disorganized state. He was pursued by Torstenson, while Ragoczy threatened Hungary. The Emperor hastily collected what forces he could command, and resolved to give battle.

Torstenson had advanced as far as Glattau in February, and on March 6th, 1645, a battle was fought near Jankowitz, three miles from Tabor. It was the most brilliant victory ever gained by the Swedes. The Imperial army was cut to pieces ; several of its leaders imprisoned or killed. In a few weeks Torstenson conquered Moravia and Austria as far as the Danube. Not far from the capital itself he took possession of the Wolfsbrücke. As in 1618, Vienna was in great danger.

Things might have taken a turn as disastrous for the

Emperor as they were in the days of Gustavus Adolphus, had the French been able to keep pace with this mode of warfare. But their ill success always counterbalanced the Swedes' advantages. Either they were beaten just as the Swedes were victorious, or could not turn a victory to account. So it was during this year.

The west frontier of the empire was guarded on the imperial side by Mercy, together with John of Werth, after he was liberated from prison. On 26th March, Turenne crossed the Rhine, and advanced towards Franconia. There he encamped near Mergentheim and Rosenberg. On 5th May a battle near Mergentheim ended with the entire defeat of the French, and Turenne escaped with the greatest difficulty by way of Hammelburg, towards Fulda. The victors pushed on to the Rhine.

To avenge this defeat, Enghien was sent from Paris, and, at the beginning of July, arrived at Spire, with 12,000 men. His forces, together with Königsmark's, the remnant of Turenne's and the Hessians, amounted to 30,000 men. At first Mercy dexterously avoided a battle under unfavourable circumstances, but on August 3rd the contest was inevitable. A bloody battle was fought between Nördlingen and Donauwörth near Allerheim, which was long doubtful, but, after tremendous losses, resulted in the victory of the French. Mercy's fall, Werth's imprudent advance, and a final brave assault of the Hessians, decided the day. But the victors were so weakened, that they could not fully take advantage of it. Condé was ill; and in the autumn Turenne was compelled, not without perceptible damage to the cause, to retreat with his army to the Neckar and the Rhine.

Neither had Torstenson been able to maintain his position in Austria. He had been obliged to raise the siege of

Brunn, and learnt at the same time that Ragoczy had just made peace with the Emperor. Obligated to retire to Bohemia, he found his forces considerably diminished.

Meanwhile, Königsmark had won an important advantage. While Torstenson was in Austria he gained a firm footing in Saxony. Then came the news of Allerheim, and of the peace of Brömsebro. Except Dresden and Königstein, all the important points were in the hands of the Swedes; so, on the 6th of September, the Elector John George concluded a treaty of neutrality for six months. Besides money and supplies, the Swedes received Leipzig, Torgau, and the right of passage through the country.

Meanwhile, Torstenson had retreated into the north-east of Bohemia, and severe physical sufferings compelled him to give up the command. He was succeeded by Charles Gustavus Wrangel.

BEGINNING OF NEGOTIATIONS, AND END OF THE WAR.

It is singular that during the whole time, from 1640 to the last exchange of shots at Prague, peace negotiations were going on.

They were set on foot just as Richelieu began to possess himself of the Weimar army. Singularly enough, it was Denmark, then neutral, a foreign power among the imperial states, that first made the proposal. At a meeting of the Electors at Nuremberg an amnesty was proposed, and the convocation of a Diet, which had not met since 1619.

The Diet was opened in September at Ratisbon. The Emperor consented to grant safe conducts to the foreign ambassadors, and to admit Hesse Cassel and Brunswick-Lüneberg among the Protestant States. Brandenburg openly and decidedly advocated the only just programme, and that which, after eight bloody years, was carried out, release

from the peace of Prague, and proclamation of a general unconditional amnesty. "If," says a Brandenburg report of January, 1641,* "the amnesty *universaliter pure et absque ulla conditione* is not conceded, and their rights not *plenarie* restored to the States, and the Treaty of Prague and the Imperial Religious Edict fully set aside—if everything is not restored to the state of things that existed in 1618 before the war, all treaties of peace will be in vain, confidence will never exist between the head and the members, or between the members themselves, but distrust and dissensions will be increased, and everything will be in confusion, dissolution and dismemberment, *totius Imperii*, which, however, may the good God graciously avert."

In fact, the mischievous results of the Treaty of Prague could not have been more strikingly pointed out than they were by the Brandenburg commissioners; instead of union, discord had been produced; instead of peace, a war of incalculable length; instead of keeping foreigners away, it had brought them into the heart of the empire. But Brandenburg did not succeed with its proposals of a general, unconditional amnesty. Electoral Saxony not only shamefully left it in the lurch, after characterizing the Treaty of Prague as *lapidem offensionis*, but, with Bavaria and Cologne, went over openly to the Emperor's side.

The Emperor only consented to an empty amnesty, specially excepting his own dominions. It was also decreed that the Peace Congress should take place at Münster and Osnabrück, that the mutual grievances of the States should be heard at a meeting of deputies at Frankfort, and that afterwards the former actions against the Protestants should be again introduced.

The second act of these preparations was played at Ham-

* Urkunden und Aktenstücke zur Geschichte Friedrich Wilhelms.

burg, where, in December, 1641, the Emperor's ambassadors, and those of France and Sweden, met to settle the preliminaries : the place of the Congress, its neutrality, and separate negotiations with Sweden and France. It was not until September, 1642, that the Emperor ratified the proceedings. He had been keeping his eyes on the seat of war ; every success of his arms, every disadvantage experienced by the enemy, was a welcome pretext for refusing concessions, and delaying those promised, while the enemy boasted none the less of every victory of the Swedes, in order to hasten a conclusion. Thus the victory of the Swedes at Leipzig was required, to bring about the meeting of deputies at Frankfort which the Emperor had been in no hurry to set about. It was not under the Emperor's thumb, like the Diet at Ratisbon. There was vehement expression of dislike to this "endless Spanish war." Even Electoral Mayence and Würzburg were very bitter against Spain and Bavaria ; the former advocated the restoration of the Palatinate, that Spain might at length be compelled to give up her posts on the Rhine ; the latter declared in private that the "religious war" which the Emperor and the Elector of Bavaria were always talking about had turned out to be a war for their "sole private interests, in which they had been obliged to take part and be ruined," and demanded a general amnesty, "because they had practical experience that nothing was to be done with the Protestants by force."

In the face of these proposals, the recall of Torstenson to Holstein was very welcome to the Emperor. Saxony said again that the time was come "for getting rid of the Swedes." Nobody had any longer any faith in treaties ; Mayence was of opinion that it would have been well if the useless meeting of deputies had not been called, "and money not thrown away." Amidst tedious discussions as to

whether it should be dissolved, or adjourned to another place, it dragged on till the spring of 1645, and then broke up, scarcely any result having been obtained.

Meanwhile, the Congress had begun to assemble (1643-44). The French insisted that ambassadors from the German States should attend. The Emperor tried to prevent it, and wished to represent the Empire as a whole, so that he alone might treat with foreign powers, and the princes only through him. Sweden joined in the demand of France, and both finally demanded that the transactions should not begin until all the States were assembled. The Emperor was obliged to give way, and the States accepted the invitation.

The Emperor's sentiments were mainly dependent on the position of his arms. In June, 1645, Sweden and France enunciated the principles of their demand. These were: Unlimited amnesty even in the Austrian dominions, in the Palatinate, Baden, and Würtemberg, according to the normal conditions of 1618; settlement of the Imperial constitution, abolition of the election of a king of Rome; acknowledgment of the right of the States to form foreign alliances; indemnification for France and Sweden. Hesse and Ragoczy were to give up intervention in the quarrel between France and Spain. The Emperor declined to accede; for meanwhile, after the battle of Allerheim, the French had disappeared from Bavaria, Torstenson had gone northwards, and, as the war in 1646 was carried on feebly, and without any decisive result—though Bavaria did, in its distress, come to terms with France and Sweden—the Emperor would give no binding promises. After the death of Gallas, the imperial army was commanded by Holzapfel, the Protestant Hessian. So far had the religious war deviated from its purpose.

In the year 1648 the imperial arms were so persistently pursued by misfortune, that delay was no longer possible.

In the spring of the year, Bavaria and Bohemia were overrun by the enemy. In May, Holzapfel was beaten, and fatally wounded, near Zussmarshausen; every attempt to hold the Lech for the Bavarians and Imperialists had been fruitless; Königsmark had entered the country, and in July had taken possession of part of Prague; then came the victory of Condé over the Imperialists, in the Netherlands, near Lens, in August.

With great difficulty, John of Werth had just arrived, to endeavour to regain some ground in Bavaria, and especially to liberate Munich, when the news of peace came.

The Emperor had at length conceded, as the basis of the religious peace, the amnesty, and the restoration of the exiles, reserving the exceptions in favour of his hereditary dominions. His father, Ferdinand II., would scarcely have agreed to it even then. In order to extirpate heresy, he had made Germany and the Hapsburg countries a desert; yet heresy was not extirpated. He had died in February, 1637, just before Bernhard of Weimar began his triumphant course, and, following in his footsteps, French co-operation thrust itself upon Germany in full view of the general conflagration which Ferdinand's fanaticism had ignited. Now, even as in 1637, he would have opposed every attempt at reconciliation, but, happily for Germany, he was dead. His son had grown up during the troublous times of war, was personally less rigid in his ideas than his father, and now, when the course of the Thirty Years' War was nearly run out, he consented to that which, had it been honestly conceded thirty years before, would have kept the peace.

CHAPTER XL.

THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA.

THE general course of the transactions and the alternations of the parties, are best seen in the provisions of the treaty itself.

On all purely political questions, Sweden and France kept faithfully together. Whenever the object was to limit the power of the Hapsburgs, to strengthen that of the principalities, to represent the rights of the exiled princes, but also to treat the empire as an indemnification for themselves, they were like hand and glove. Until the seventh decade of the seventeenth century, Sweden and France were closely allied in these endeavours, greatly to the disadvantage of Germany.

But in religious matters it was otherwise. Sweden and France were the leaders of opposite parties. Sweden was the mouthpiece of the Protestants and of every Protestant interest. There is no doubt that we owe many beneficial regulations to the attitude taken by Sweden. France was, of course, on the other side. It was for her interest that the Protestant princes of Germany should not be annihilated, for they were the natural enemies of Spain and the Hapsburgs; but it was by no means her interest to allow Protestantism so to increase that it might become dangerous to the creed of

France. Though she did not, therefore, ally herself with the Emperor, she did with Bavaria, and it was now that those relations were first entered into with this state which have repeatedly earned for it the honourable title in France of "our oldest ally in Germany." Maximilian of Bavaria was the first German prince who proposed the cession of Alsace to France.

This was the curiously disjointed way in which the most important parties at the congress were grouped. Sweden secured the adhesion of all Protestant, France of all Catholic elements ; but the Emperor, both on religious and political questions, had all parties against him, or, at any rate, none for him. His plenipotentiary, therefore, could not assume the position which was strictly his master's due, and all the foreign powers with whom he had mediately or immediately to transact business met him as the representative of a foreign power, and by reason of their adherents in Germany, they were greatly his superiors. His conduct, therefore, betrays the insecure position of an isolated party.

The peace congress at Münster and Osnabrück gradually became a European one. The powers which had not taken part in the war were either present or represented, and thus no European matter was left undiscussed, though the archives of the Peace do not contain decisions about them all.

The Netherlands tried to obtain the recognition of their independence by the German empire, as did Switzerland also. The representatives of the policy of the restoration of ancient Catholicism, from which even the Emperor gradually withdrew, came to the congress to prevent and alter the treaty as much as they could. Neither Spain nor Rome was in a position to hinder it ; but they protested

against its validity, which gave rise to the express declaration in the documents of the Peace, that no protest or interference was valid, let it come whence it would.

The negotiations continued till the autumn of 1648. The last shots were being exchanged at Prague when a messenger brought news of the conclusion of peace, on the 24th of October, 1648. France had treated with the Emperor at Münster, Sweden at Osnabrück, and come to terms. On all essential points the treaties were in unison, except on those questions on which the territorial interests of France and Sweden diverged.

How the Peace changed the face of Europe, how the fundamental principle of these peace transactions, in which all the European powers took part, completed the emancipation of the western world from the traditions of the Middle Ages, and introduced the new era of European balance of power, we shall afterwards see. We will first consider the contents of the treaty.

The points of divergence and agreement in both treaties may be thus grouped :—Part of the provisions of both relates to temporal affairs, cessions, indemnities, restorations.

A second part, and, in extent, the most important, relates to religious and ecclesiastical questions, especially for Germany, to the gist therefore of the whole war.

A third part relates to the imperial constitution of Germany, to the settlement of regulations which were intended to determine, and did determine, the political life of the German empire for more than a century. A constitution was formed for Germany which issued in the Confederation of the Rhine, and the dissolution of the "Holy Roman Empire of the German nation."

TERRITORIAL QUESTIONS.

By the Treaty of Osnabrück, Sweden received the whole of Upper Pomerania with the island of Rügen, of Lower Pomerania, Stettin, Gartz, Damm, Golnau, Wollin, the mouth of the Oder and the Frische Haff, as a hereditary fief, with all the rights of a State of the German empire; also Camin and Wismar, and the whole of the archbishopric of Bremen and the bishopric of Verden, with the exception of the city of Bremen, which was to remain free.

As Duke of Bremen, Verden, and Pomerania, governor of Rügen, and lord of Wismar, the King of Sweden had a vote among the temporal princes in the Diet, a legal position in the district directory and the meetings of deputies, and the "*privilegium de non appellando et supremum tribunal constituendi*" belonging to princes of the empire.

This was pretty much what Gustavus Adolphus had in view at the beginning of the war in Germany, only that now a piece of the North Sea was added to indemnity on the Baltic, and dominion over the Elbe and the Weser to that over the mouth of the Oder.

The national character which, in spite of its loose constitution, the German empire had up to this time tolerably well maintained, was now lost, and replaced by a European one. Until the end of the eighteenth century no less than six European princes were members of the empire; at last all the European powers were represented in it, except France, Russia, and Turkey, and it was not the fault of the empire that these were not in it also. The merit of having proposed the reception of the Sultan belongs to a German politician. Peter the Great once had a project of becoming a member of it, and it was suggested to France at the

congress ; but she did not desire it. Louis XIV. did afterwards wish it at one time, that he might hold his reunions still more conveniently, but consoled himself with the idea that it was better as it was. If he were in the empire the incorporation of Alsace would only be more difficult ; it was not easy to detach it from its fealty to the empire ; being outside it, he could simply ignore the decrees of the Diet, and do as he pleased.

When the question arose about admitting France, the Protestants, for the first and last time, were at one with the Emperor ; they joined in opposing it.

The European character of the empire caused the rotten body to hold together longer than might have been expected from its constitution. In the wars with Louis XIV. England especially, repeatedly stood up for the old German empire ; and the fact that a revolution of this wonderful structure, within and without, was a European question, caused its vegetative existence to be spared by all conservative powers as much as possible. But it could not be a healthy existence that required to be so ingeniously kept together.

The following were the terms agreed upon at Münster with France :—

The district of Burgundy shall be, as before, a country of the German empire, after the settlement of the disputes between France and Spain. But should disputes arise in future between these two powers, they shall not affect the treaty between the King of France and the German empire as such ; but the individual states shall be free to help one side or the other, "*extra imperii limites*," though only in accordance with the imperial constitution ("*secundum imperii constitutionem*").

The empire therefore lost the right of interfering for

Burgundy as a member of the empire ; but the individual States were, in a given case, to be permitted to unite with the enemies of the empire, "beyond the boundaries, but within the constitution of the empire." The anarchy established by treaty, of the new constitution cannot be more strikingly portrayed than in these words. A time came when all Western Germany was on the side of France, and helped to protect her in her conquests. This was a commentary on this article.

The supreme authority "*supremum dominium iura superioritatis aliaque omnia*," over the bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, was to be conferred on the French Crown, and they were to be incorporated with it for ever—"eique incorporari debeant in perpetuum." Up to this time the possessions of these bishoprics had been only an actual one, not legally acknowledged ; the Peace of Westphalia made the robbery legal. Pignerol was ceded. Emperor and empire renounced all their rights and those of the House of Austria over Breifach, the Landgraviate of Upper and Lower Alsace, the Sundgau, the prefectures of the ten imperial cities (Hagenau, Colmar, Schlettstadt, Weissenburg, Landau, &c.) in favour of France, but with a reservation of all the rights and privileges which these places had previously received from Austria. France was to have the right of garrisoning Philippsburg ; the rest of the imperial cities were to retain the immediate connection with the Holy Roman empire which they have hitherto enjoyed, "*in ea libertate et possessione immedietatis erga imperium romanum, qua hactenus gavisi sunt*," the German fortresses on the right and left of the Rhine to be demolished.

The boundaries of France, therefore, were advanced to the Rhine, the defence of the German frontier as far as

Philippsburg, which served the French as a *tête du pont*, destroyed.

The mode of cession was purposely full of contradictions.

The constituent parts of the empire ceded to France,—that is, the ecclesiastical rulers, who still partly resided here, the imperial nobles, and ten imperial cities, were not to suffer any diminution of their rights and privileges under French rule, were to retain their direct connection with the empire, were to be subject to the imperial courts; in short, they were still to be members of the empire, but with the reservation *that it should be without prejudice to the rights of France* (“*ita tamen ut præsentî hac declaratione nihil detractum intelligatur de eo supremi Dominii, iure, quod supra concessum est*”).

In the very nature of things, such ambiguous regulations were sure to give rise to all sorts of disputes. The German empire appealed to its expressly reserved rights, France to the clauses by which her sovereignty was secured. The power of France finally decided the matter. Actual incorporation with France was, doubtless, intended to be averted by these articles; but their meaning was not defined sharply enough, and it required more power to enforce its claims than the German empire possessed.

Louis XIV. preferred not to be a member of the empire, because had he been so he must have submitted to its decrees, and would have been hampered in his schemes. He had only to put his own construction on the articles as a foreign power, and practically to complete the incorporation. During the following wars and treaties of peace these questions were always coming under discussion, and it was in the very nature of things that they were always decided to the disadvantage of the empire.

The many-headed empire, with its tedious transactions, was confronted by a power that never for one moment lost sight of its aims, never let a favourable opportunity slip, and was always the stronger party.

The internal conformation of Germany was settled on the basis of the general amnesty, to which Hapsburg, after long resistance, had agreed.

"All hostilities," says the document, "that have taken place from the beginning of the late disturbances, in any place, of whatever kind, by one side or the other, shall be forgotten and forgiven ; so that neither party shall cherish enmity or hatred against, nor molest nor injure the other for any cause whatsoever," &c.

From this followed the unconditional re-instatement in their previous position of all who had been driven from their country and subjects, or deprived of offices or dignities, house or home, during the war.

Bavaria retained the Electorate and the Upper Palatinate, but had to renounce its claim of thirteen millions. The Palatinate received an eighth Electorate and the Rhenish Palatinate back again. The official posts in the Bergstrasse were restored to Electoral Mayence. The line of Simmern was re-instated. Würtemberg, with Mömpelgard, Baden-Durlach, Nassau, Solms, Isenburg Sayn, Waldeck, Hohenlohe, Erbach, and many others, were restored.

The restitution extended also to all persons in civil and military service : "*a summo ad infimum, ab infimo ad summum*," as it is stated in the documents. This was one of the disputed points, and the Emperor took care that it should not be carried out without exception. It might do in Germany ; but in the Austrian hereditary dominions the case was different.

Bohemia was almost depopulated, as a result of the re-

action. Instead of four million inhabitants, there was now scarcely one million, and some of the best subjects of Catholic Hapsburg had taken possession of the estates of the banished Protestants.

To have ordained unconditional restoration to the previous state of things in this case would have been to make the existing government of Austria, the dynasty itself, impossible. To have restored to its property and rights the party which had been doomed to destruction, and which for thirty years past had been fighting under various colours against Austria, would have been fatal to the House of Austria and its newly-founded dominion.

In the German empire the restitution simply meant the restoration of Protestant lands to Protestant masters; but in Austria the whole state of things introduced by the Restoration, which had lasted for nearly thirty years, would be upset, and all the hostile elements would be in the ascendant again.

The "*amnestia perpetua*," therefore, was construed in a very limited sense in the Austrian dominions. As Austrian subjects, the Protestants were permitted to return, without damage to "person, life, reputation, or honour;" but they forfeited the ancient privileges of which they had boasted as a party. Estates which they had lost before going over to the hostile party were to remain in the hands of their present owners; but those that were lost later, through the act of joining the Swedes or French, were to be restored.

In every country of Germany there are traces of the exile of the Bohemian aristocracy in the Thirty Years' War. In going through the names of the noble families, Bohemian names may be found even in the furthest north. Those of Boyen and Gneisenau are among them.

RELIGIOUS AND ECCLESIASTICAL QUESTIONS.

The basis of the religious peace, and the principle of equality between the creeds, were more unconditionally and distinctly defined than in 1552-5. The treaties of that period were confirmed, and an interpretation put upon them which was to be of unquestionable validity, against which neither protest from nor interference by the imperial or ecclesiastical power was to avail anything—"non attenta cuiusvis seu Ecclesiastici seu Politici, intra vel extra Imperium quocunque tempore interposita contradictione vel protestatione quæ omnes inanes declarantur." This was aimed at the protests to be expected from Spain and Rome, accustomed as they were to protest against everything connected with religious toleration.

In all religious questions complete equality was to exist between electors, princes, states, and individuals ("*æqualitas exacta mutuaque*"), each is to allow what seems right to the other ("*ut quod uni parti iustum est, alteri quoque sit iustum*"), and every kind of violence is for ever forbidden between the parties.

This principle, honestly carried out, was worth making great sacrifices for, and it was more comprehensive than before; for it included not only Catholics and Lutherans but also the Reformed party, to whom liberty and equality was now expressly granted. Toleration was also expressly promised to those who should hereafter change their religion.

It was more difficult to calculate on the results of this principle as applied to ecclesiastical restitution. The consistent thing would have been, and it was demanded by all the Protestants, to recur to the state of things before the war; but that would affect the Austrian dominions as

deeply as the amnesty; it would involve restoring Bohemia, Moravia, Upper and Lower Austria, to the condition of 1618. The Emperor, therefore, was as determined against restitution in this sense as against the amnesty, and all that was attained was that Silesia should remain as it was.

The question, therefore, was to find a normal year for the restitution which should satisfy both parties. The Protestants demanded 1618; but the Catholics rejected it. For them it would have been to put all the results of the religious war in doubt again, and they demanded 1630, which was the year most favourable to them, as it was after the Edict of Restitution, and before Gustavus Adolphus had gained any victory of importance. But this was strongly opposed by the Swedes and Protestants, and after a long dispute they came to a *medius terminus*, for which there was nothing to be said, either on logical or historical grounds; they divided the twelve years, thus arriving at 1624. The Protestants could content themselves with this, if it obliged the Austrian hereditary dominions to be given up.

So it was decided that for ecclesiastical possessions and rights, as a whole and in detail, the 1st of January, 1624, should be the criterion. What was at that time a Protestant or Catholic institution should remain such in future. Ecclesiastics who change their religion shall give up their offices, but "*honore famaue illibatis*."

The ecclesiastical right of election shall remain unlimited, and the *preces primariæ* of the Emperor, annats and pall money in Protestant bishoprics shall be abolished. The archbishops, bishops, and prelates elected by the adherents of the Confession of Augsburg shall be immediately installed by the Emperor.

The mediate ecclesiastical possessions, without exception,

shall remain to the Protestants, as on the 1st of January, 1624.

Knights of the empire and imperial cities shall have the same privileges as the superior states of the empire, and for them, also, the 1st of January, 1624, shall be the criterion of restitution.

The mediate states of the empire shall be protected in their creed, and the intolerant principle, "*cuius regio eius religio*," given up; but at the same time the sovereign rights of the immediate states in religious matters were granted with a regulation calculated to occasion some anxiety ("*nulli statui immediato ius quod ipsi ratione territorii et superioritatis in negotiis religionis competit, impediri oportere*"). Still, it was expressly stated that the Protestant subjects of Catholic states, who, in 1624, "whether by treaty, privilege, long usage, or only by observance," shall have been in the habit of using the Confession of Augsburg, shall retain it, together with its "appurtenances;" that is, the institution of consistories, ministers, schoolmasters, right of patronage, &c.

Those who have been molested shall be reinstated—of course reciprocally. The Catholic subjects of Protestant States shall receive the same privileges.

During the war, as the armies moved hither and thither, new congregations had been formed in various places of adherents of one creed or the other, with whom the year 1624 had as little to do as with those who should hereafter change their creed. It was settled that "their rulers of a different creed shall tolerate them patiently, that they shall be at liberty to have domestic worship without molestation, to attend the public services of their persuasion in the neighbourhood whenever they like, and to send their children to foreign schools of their profession." Had this article been honestly kept to, we should have had little

more persecution to complain of on account of differences of religion.

The treaty goes on to say, "No one of any party shall look askance at any one on account of his creed ; nor shall any one be excluded from the communes, guilds, corporations, inheritance, legacies, hospitals, or the distribution of alms, nor be deprived of honourable burial."

But this was more easily said than done. If any one wishes to emigrate, or is induced to do so by his ruler, he may do so without molestation, and without prejudice to his property ; he may either alienate it, retain it, or have it managed by another. This was specially intended for the Austrian and Silesian Protestants. The Emperor's subjects in Silesia, and the counts, barons, and nobles in Lower Austria were not to be compelled to emigrate. They had not been able to agree, it was added, upon further concessions, "on account of the opposition of the imperial plenipotentiaries." Sweden and the Protestant States reserved to themselves the right of interceding with the Emperor on the subject at the next Diet.

No one shall in any wise dispute the treaty ("*concionando docendo, disputando, scribendo, consulendo*"), nor meddle with the treaties of 1552 and 1555. Disputes shall be referred to the Diet.

At the ordinary meetings of the deputies of the empire the number of deputies of each religion shall be equal. In extraordinary commissions for the settlement of disputes, Catholics or Protestants, or both, shall be represented according to the religion of the disputants. Religious questions shall not be decided by majority of votes.

An early Diet shall regulate the affairs of the Court of Judicature ; besides the judges and four presidents, two of whom were to be Protestants, the assessors were to be

increased to fifty, of whom the Catholics were to appoint twenty-six, the Protestants twenty-four.

To the article which declares the equality of the Reformed party is added, "But except the above-mentioned religions, no other shall be admitted or tolerated in the holy Roman empire."

In the eighteenth century this clause was enforced against the Pietists.

POLITICAL REGULATIONS.

The important political changes which resulted, first from the European and then from the religious character of the empire, have already been partially noticed. The aristocracy of the rulers and cities, which forms the essential feature of the future constitution of Germany, is already stamped upon it.

Article 8 contains the transfer of the sovereignty of the empire to the States and their sovereign pleasure. They enjoy, so it runs, the right of voting in all transactions relating to the affairs of the empire, especially the enactment of laws, questions of war, peace, treaties, taxation, levies of soldiers, &c.; and without their consent no important business can be decided. To every, even the smallest regulation the consent of the three Courts is required. The right of forming alliances with foreign powers, for its own support and safety, is expressly granted to every individual state, so long as they are not entered into against the Emperor, the empire, and the public peace, but consistently with the oath which every one has taken to the Emperor and the empire ("ita tamen ne eiusmodi fœdera sint contra Imperatorem et Imperium, pacemque eius publicam vel hanc imprimis transactionem, fiantque salvo per omnia iuramento quo quisque Imperatori et Imperio obstrictus est").

The last vestige of sovereignty which had been preserved in the rickety German constitution was destroyed, and all that appertains to the essential character of a State distributed among the members of the republic of the States.

This completely deprived the empire, as such, of its power. It was almost impossible with this constitution to decide great and urgent questions. The empire might be ruined while the three Courts of the Diet were coming to an agreement on a complicated question. The article by which the right of forming alliances was conferred on every State contained within itself the dissolution of the empire. All subsequent separate alliances were entered into "for the sake of German liberties," and with a reservation of loyalty to the Emperor and empire; even the confederation of the Rhine maintained that it was formed from great regard for, and boundless loyalty to the German empire.

And this hampering organization was inflicted on a corporate empire which had suffered considerable losses both in the north and south—besides Alsace, Pomerania, &c., Poland was sacrificed, Belgium loosened, Switzerland withdrawn from the imperial jurisdiction—and it was surrounded on two sides by powerful neighbours.

This was the end of the great revolution which had been raging in Germany during the Thirty Years' War. That it put the finishing-stroke to the already rotten constitution was the least of the evil; a blow was struck by it at the nation itself, its prosperity, and the foundations of its existence, from which it took generations to recover. The descriptions of the misery inflicted by this war everywhere in Germany are heartrending. The conduct of the soldiers towards the defenceless citizens and peasants, their wives and children, was so horribly barbarous that it seemed to be their object literally to destroy the whole population.

The power of the armed over the unarmed was exercised with bestial ferocity. It is said of the Imperialists that they baked the poor people in ovens, roasted them before the fires, put out their eyes, cut strips from their backs, cut off arms, legs, ears, noses, breasts, and set pitch on fire on their living bodies. Just the same things are reported of the Swedes after their degeneracy after the battle of Nördlingen. The "Swedish drink," manure-water, poured down the throats of the poor wretches, was their invention.

The depopulation and devastation of the country was fearful. Especially in the south and west, Germany was a wilderness of ruins; places that were formerly the seats of prosperity were the haunts of wolves and robbers for many a long year. It is estimated that the population was diminished by twenty, by some even by fifty per cent. The population of Augsburg was reduced from 80,000 to 18,000; of Frankenthal, from 18,000 to 324 inhabitants. In Würtemberg, in 1641, of 400,000 inhabitants 48,000 remained; in the Palatinate, in 1636, there were but 201 peasant-farmers; and in 1648, but a fiftieth part of the population remained. In Hesse, 17 towns, 47 castles, and 400 villages were burnt; in Bavaria alone, in 1646, more than 100 villages were ruined; and in Würtemberg 8 cities, 45 villages, and 36,000 houses.

The measures which were necessary to bring the wilderness into cultivation again are indicated by the decrees of the Palatinate of that period.* Whoever repaired old houses, was exempt from taxes for two years; whoever built new ones, for three; whoever brought waste lands, devastated places and vineyards into cultivation again, for one, three, six years.

Here, as everywhere, the most extraordinary exertions

* Häuser, Geschichte der rhein. Pfalz, ii. 585.

were necessary to restore order and civilisation after the devastations of the war. But it was not the mission of the empire ; that was condemned to inaction ; but of the individual states who now entirely freed themselves from their loose connection with it, and whose independent efficiency was now severely tested.

In reviewing the situation of Germany as a whole, the best criticism of the new circumstances is contained in a pamphlet published in Brandenburg in 1658.* “ Our noble country has been fearfully spoiled in the name of religion and liberty ; we have sacrificed our blood, our honour, and our names ; and all that we have attained for it is, that we have made ourselves the servants of foreign nations, and made masters of those whose names were almost unknown to us. What are the Rhine, the Weser, the Elbe, and the Oder, but the captives of foreign nations ? What are our liberties and our religion but things for others to play with ? ”

The part of the German Empire, both at home and abroad, was played out. At home it was superseded by the acknowledged sovereignty of the ruling princes, the nobles, and the cities ; abroad it was thrust aside by the new position of two ambitious powers who had begun to lay the foundations of their greatness at its expense. The Swedish power was established, as projected by Gustavus Adolphus, as an empire surrounding the Baltic and even ruling a portion of the North Sea. It was a power which it needed much hostile talent, and still more stupidity on its own part to ruin.

France had acquired a similar position in the west : during the war, by the skill and rigid consistency of her diplomacy, she had made her way out of great internal

* Droysen, iii.

difficulties, and with but little sacrifice she had secured a rich booty, which offered a prospect of still greater gain ; her army also had experienced a discipline which was not lost in ensuing times.

But the power which the German and Spanish Hapsburgs had wielded since the times of Charles V. and Philip II., and for which they contended for the last time during this war, was now thrown entirely into the background by their two more fortunate rivals. Spain was thoroughly disabled, and the authority of the Emperor in the empire reduced to a shadow. The essence of that which had been desired by Chemnitz* a year before the peace—that Austria might be constitutionally thrust out of the empire—was accomplished.

The mediæval order of the European world was over ; the union which once more took place between Imperialism and the Papacy to oppose church reform was for ever at an end. An era begins of national consolidated governments, with a new policy both foreign and domestic. For both these tendencies France became the standard in the spirit inaugurated by Richelieu.

* Hippolitus a Lapide, *de ratione status in Imperio Germanico*. 1647.

PART XII.

COMPLETION OF THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND.

CHAPTER XLI.

THE REFORMATION OF THE PROTESTANT CHURCH UNDER EDWARD VI., 1547-53.

The inheritance of Henry VIII.—Character of the young King.—The first Protector, Edward, Duke of Somerset, 1549.—The second Protector, Earl of Warwick, Duke of Northumberland, 1553.—Character of the Church Reform, Bible, Catechism, Book of Common Prayer, Abolition of the Mass, Celibacy, &c.—The Catholic reaction under Mary, 1553-8.—Abolition of the Ecclesiastical Laws of Edward VI., and first acts of revenge.—Marriage with Philip II. of Spain, 1554.—The question of Church Property.—Parliament and the Laws concerning Heresy.—The Ordeal by fire of English Protestantism.—The untenable position of the Government after the loss of Calais and the breach of the Constitution.*

THE REFORMATION UNDER EDWARD VI.

WHAT was attempted by Henry VIII. was not in anywise a Reformation, but a wanton experiment of autocratic absolutism.

* Camden, *Annales rer. Angl. regn. Elisabetha*, 1675, fol. Collection of State Papers, left by Cecil Lord Burleigh, 1740. Letters of negoc. of F. Walsingham, 1655, fol. Forbes, *Public Transactions*. Townshend, *Proceedings of the four last Parliaments of Elizabeth*, 1680. Birch, *Memoirs of the reign of Queen Elizabeth*, 1754. Lucy Aikin, *Memoirs of the Court of Elizabeth*, 1818. Turner, *History of the reigns of Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth*, 1829. Neal, *History*

From motives of a very various character he had reduced the ancient Church to ruins, united the monarchy and the Papacy in one person, but retained the worship, the doctrines, and the hierarchy of the Romish Church. Although the most determined opponent of the Curia, he was no less, from first to last, the declared enemy of Luther ; but what his subjects were to be, if they wished to escape being hanged as rebels or burnt as heretics, it was not easy to say. If a man was a Catholic, he was sent to the scaffold because he refused to take the oath of supremacy ; if a good Lutheran, he was burnt because he would have nothing to do with the mass, celibacy of the clergy, &c.

The untenableness of the new position lay in the fact that it was not based on any fixed principles, but depended on the will of a relentless despot ; it could not therefore be permanent. It was easy to foresee that at his death the structure of Church order raised by this monarch would fall, for the arm would be wanting that held it together.

It was long doubtful whether England would be Protestant or Catholic ; but that the present state of things would not last, and did not deserve to last, was obvious to every one. It was also evident that this distraction of men's consciences must at length become insupportable. People were called Catholic, and then again heretical Protestants ; and were in fact neither the one nor the other.

To add to all the other confusion bequeathed by Henry VIII., the succession to the throne was entirely doubtful.

At the time of the King's death there was no doubt that of the Puritans, 1723. M'Crie, *Life of John Knox*, 1839 ; Whitaker, *Mary Stuart Vindicated*, 1787. Benger, *Memoirs of Mary*, 1823. Raumer, *Elisabeth und Maria Stuart*, 1836. Mignet, *Histoire de Marie Stuart*, 1850. Ranke, *Englische Geschichte*, vol. i.-vii., 1859-68. Weber, *Geschichte der akatholischen Kirchen Englands*.

his only son was his lawful successor ; but if he should die early, as soon afterwards happened, the question was not so simple.

By his first wife, the unfortunate Catharine of Aragon, Henry had one daughter, Mary ; and in the opinion of all unprejudiced persons she was the King's legitimate child. But her mother's marriage with the King had been officially declared illegal.

The second marriage with Anne Boleyn did not last long, and the only issue was another daughter, Elizabeth. On doubtful testimony her mother was accused of all sorts of unchastity, and condemned by the same corrupt votes which served the King in all these odious transactions. She died upon the scaffold ; her offspring therefore could not be considered legitimate.

The third marriage was with Jane Seymour, the only wife who was not made wretched by her union with Henry, for she died in childbed, and had not to drink the cup of his humours to the dregs.

The fourth marriage with Anne of Cleves scarcely deserves the name, so short-lived and fugitive was the connection. The fifth wife, Catharine Howard, seems really to have been guilty of adultery. The sixth, Catharine Parr, the widow of a nobleman, maintained a tolerable understanding with the King ; but as she had suspicious leanings towards Protestantism, it is probable that she would have been got rid of on account of theological scruples had the King lived much longer.

Out of this family history arose most of the convulsions by which England was torn during the second half of the century, especially the conflict between the two queens—Mary Stuart and Elizabeth, the Catholic and the Protestant.

The Seymour family, from whom on the maternal side

the young King Edward VI. was descended, gathered round him in order to reign in his name, for he was only ten years old. From all that we know of the King it appears that he displayed a good-natured character, without any of the Tudor haughtiness or despotic tendencies; but he early showed great weakness and delicacy of constitution. Thus there came to be a government of guardians, not by princes of the royal family, but by nobles, who therefore had all the other nobles who were excluded from power against them. At first, the King's maternal uncle, Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset, was Protector, a vain ambitious man, but not without good qualities, which endeared him to the people. His own brother, Thomas, conspired against him, was subdued, and executed (1549); then another party was formed against him under Dudley Earl of Warwick, Duke of Northumberland, who succeeded in compassing the Protector's fall, and in sending him to the scaffold (1552).

Taken altogether, the first Protectorate was the best. It was not over-efficient, its projects were often much more daring than its performances; but it was lenient, well-meaning, and popular. The Duke of Somerset had the prosperity of the state, and the good of the lower classes sincerely at heart; he neither enriched himself nor misused his power by aggrandising his relatives at the expense of the country.

With the second Protectorate came all the evils which cannot be laid to the charge of the first—barefaced nepotism; the public money was shamefully squandered on favourites, and there was an attempt to secure the crown itself to the family of the Protector.

The most important question, however, was what the attitude of the government would be towards the Reforma-

tion, and the untenable policy of Henry VIII. And on this point the new government was stamped with a sharply-defined character.

The young King had been won over to Protestantism by Cranmer, and notwithstanding his youth showed a warm enthusiasm for and premature comprehension of the new doctrines. He had the noble ambition to make his country the vanguard of the Reformation, and to offer a refuge to the fugitive professors of the new creed in his free island.

The Seymours also favoured a thorough reformation from conviction. The leading powers in England therefore were Protestant, and Cranmer was allowed to give the supremacy to those doctrines to which he had long been devoted in secret; he could now openly express in dogma that approach to Lutheranism which he had been obliged to conceal within his own breast. A great number of the nobles were with him, the King and Protector eagerly took his part, Parliament was easily gained over, and thus, with comparatively little opposition, the traditions of Henry VIII. were set aside, the Church system adapted to the continental Reformation, the Anglican Church made Protestant by authority.

The English Reformation could not be productive and original. In the constitution of the Church the royal supremacy could not be set aside; in the doctrines there was nothing original to oppose to Lutheranism. It was still a monarchical-aristocratic structure, an episcopal hierarchy which, except that it had a temporal head, was Catholic; in the forms of divine worship Catholic and Protestant elements were mingled with a preponderance of the former; but the doctrines of the Church were thoroughly Protestant.

These changes were made with prudence and tact;

and, first, the policy of compulsion as it existed under Henry VIII. was discontinued. While the government appeared to be walking in the steps of the late King, they entirely renounced the essential features of his attitude; while they seemed religiously to be abiding by usage, on the most important points it was entirely changed.

The Six Articles were withdrawn by act of Parliament; as to practices, to the omission of which heavy penalties had been attached, such as oral confession, full liberty was introduced. Regular teaching of the congregation from the English Bible, and of the youth from a purified catechism, a new liturgy by the Book of Common Prayer, the administration of the communion in both kinds, abolition of the mass and of the celibacy of the clergy, restrictions upon processions, abolition of the worship of images, and invocation of saints—with strict injunctions against image-breaking—were the most important of the religious innovations. The ruling powers were as firm in their Church policy as they were weak in the secular government.

These changes did not arise, as in Germany and Switzerland, from pressure from the people, but were ordained by authority. Although there was but little opposition, the consent of the masses was by no means certain; they undoubtedly liked the reforms much better than the terrorism of Henry VIII., still it was not clear that they would not some day doff the new garments as easily as they had put them on, whether a future sovereign might not succeed in undoing the work of Edward VI.

No reformation which had been effected in this official way had hitherto been strong enough to set a reaction at defiance.

To add to these anxieties which lay in the nature of the case, the second Protector had jealously to guard the

influence of his family. Since the King's health awakened fears of an early death, he busied himself, in opposition to the mandates of Henry VIII., in planning a succession to the crown, which should on the one hand prevent a Catholic reaction under Mary, and on the other secure the crown for his family.

The daughters of Henry VIII. were, he considered, both incapable of succeeding, the marriages of their mothers having been pronounced invalid. Recourse must therefore be had to the legitimate posterity of Henry VII., of which there was one princess whose claims bore precedence, Lady Jane Grey, the great grandchild of the first Tudor, and daughter-in-law of the Protector. She was to be proclaimed Queen, with the declaration that her accession would be a guarantee of the modern Church reform, while the Catholic reign of Mary would upset it.

The King consented to this, excluded his sisters from the throne and disregarded his father's injunctions, for the safety of the Protestant doctrines outweighed everything with him; and he gave their adherents credit for power to maintain the good cause in any struggle that might ensue.

On the 6th of July, 1553, Edward died suddenly, and it now remained to be seen which party had the stronger sympathies among the nobles and the people.

The Catholics, of course, were for Mary, and would have been so had her rights been much more doubtful than they were. All the powerful enemies whom Warwick had made by his supercilious rule were against Lady Jane Grey, and the majority of the Protestants were at least doubtful whether, for the state of their creed and at the risk of civil war, they should help to upset a legitimate succession.

The *coup d'état* must have been very skilfully planned to

succeed against such sentiments, and it was not so ; the attempt to place Lady Jane Grey on the throne, a learned young lady, who was never more surprised than at the news that she was Queen, was from the first miserably frustrated. Mary had only to show herself, some courageous adherents had only to proclaim her Queen, and the opposing party fell to pieces ; Warwick himself was eclipsed by the herald who proclaimed her.

CATHOLIC MARY, 1553-58 ; BORN 1516.

This was a most important turn in the course of events. The question whether the Reformation ordained by authority would stand, was still awaiting solution. A princess now succeeded to the throne who undoubtedly had decided opinions on religious matters. Whatever her sentiments might be on other subjects, in religion she was a strict Catholic.

A government ensued which, perhaps without or even against her consent, began to tread the path of Catholic reaction, which first tested the vital power of Protestantism.

Mary's portrait, as drawn by English historians, those only excepted who favour strict Roman Catholic views, is not a very flattering one. The greater number of them speak of her only as " Bloody Mary." It is perfectly intelligible that the feelings of the nation, outraged by the Spanish terrorism under this Queen, should revenge themselves by such a title ; and Mary cannot be absolved from enormous blood-guiltiness. Still it is not fair to yield altogether to this impression. On unprejudiced psychological observation of her, we find the weakness of a woman which deserves rather to be pitied than condemned, instead of the wild fanaticism of a bloodthirsty character.

Mary Tudor was now no longer young, and had an un-

happy childhood and youth to look back upon. She had seen her innocent mother separated from her father by a party tribunal, banished like an intruder from the court, supplanted on the throne by a more fortunate rival; she herself had been thrust into the background, threatened, neglected, ill-used. Such things might have left fainter traces on a sprightly and vigorous character, but they were inflicted on a person who had an early bias to melancholy and bigotry.

The remembrance of her lot was still further embittered by the idea that her mother had been persecuted for her faith, and that she herself had been condemned to obscurity for the same reason. Her mother's misfortunes and her own had begun with the day when the king broke faith with the ancient church; and the victory of the rival was at the same time, in her eyes, a victory of modern unbelief. It was not so, but so it appeared to her. All the bitterest experiences of her life were connected with the position of affairs on religious questions. Protestantism was not only a new doctrine which was opposed to her faith, but a hostile principle which had brought wretchedness to her and her mother.

She therefore hated the new creed, and felt herself a stranger among the people. She was more Spanish than English, regarded the English as accomplices in the outrages against her mother and her faith, and worshipped everything Spanish. This was another cause of estrangement.

Then she was weakly and sickly, and had something of the sour misanthropy of an old maid. This all conspired to drive her to fearful deeds, for which an explanation must be sought in all the circumstances of her life before they are roundly condemned.

It was not that she came to the throne with her head full of evil intentions. Many things were rather brought about by the course of events than ordained by her despotic will.

On her accession she made a declaration that the Protestants should not be molested in the profession and practice of their religion, nor should compulsion be used in matters of faith ; but she forbade the use of the offensive names, "Papist" and "heretic."

Perhaps this was only done to allay the fears of the Protestants, and to deprive the enemy of its latest adherents, for she was no doubt resolved at heart to restore Catholicism. The first acts of the new government were acts of revenge. Northumberland, whose behaviour now was as cowardly and craven as it had before been insolent and ambitious, was sent with five accomplices to the scaffold ; and Lady Jane Grey and her husband were closely imprisoned.

Then followed the measures for Catholic restoration, and the supremacy which Henry VIII. had connected with the regal power came to her aid, and still more so the subservience to which he had trained Parliament and the judges. She filled all offices in accordance with her views ; those who had suffered for their Catholic opinions under Edward VI. were re-instated in their posts ; Bishop Gardiner stepped out of prison into the office of chancellor, and a number of eminent bishops, who were the pillars of Protestantism, were dismissed. The ministry was formed in a Catholic spirit, and in a few months the state of official England was thoroughly reversed.

Edward VI. had only just made Protestantism the basis of the government, and now pure Catholicism was lifting up its head again. This arose from the nature of the Reformation.

mation ; Henry VIII. had systematically deprived it of the people's sympathy, and during the short reign of Edward VI. it had not been able to take deep root.

The counter reformation was taking its course when the elections for the new Parliament took place. If any defence could be looked for in England against the arbitrary government, it could only be from Parliament. It had hitherto been fickle, and had had no will of its own. Still it held a weapon in its hand which might some day be effectually used. The retrograde step made itself felt in the elections, for the restoration of Catholicism was represented in them ; and it can scarcely be supposed that the new Parliament was such as it was solely from government influence.

The first duty of Parliament was to abolish the edict which had pronounced the marriage of Mary's mother invalid. After the Queen's succession was an accomplished fact, the edict had lost its significance, and it was passed without opposition.

But it was different with the next proposal, to abolish the religious innovations of Edward VI. and the Book of Common Prayer. This, however, was also carried, though not without a sharp contest. Public worship again became Catholic. The doctrines of the Church were placed upon their old footing, and a wide breach made in the work of the Reformation.

To go further than this did not seem practicable to the Queen's prudent advisers, among whom was the Emperor Charles V. So the mass was introduced once more, the Catholic liturgy restored ; but the temporal headship of the hierarchy, the royal supremacy, remained, though the Queen would have preferred at once to restore the supremacy to the Pope.

After a long alienation from Rome, a sort of reconcilia-

tion took place, but it is remarkable that while grateful for the restoration, they thought it best at Rome to moderate the Queen's zeal. They did not venture to appoint a Papal legate immediately. Among the chief of those who had strenuously opposed Henry's innovations was Cardinal Pole, who had escaped death by flight. He was looked upon as the representative of exiled Catholic England, and was treated at Rome with great favour and distinction. Pope Julius III. appointed him his plenipotentiary in England, but it was long before the people were supposed to be ready for his reception, and when he returned, after thirty years of exile, he belonged to the moderate party (a rare case with a refugee), and was soon in despair at Mary's want of moderation.

The consequences of turning into the paths of Catholic reaction soon developed themselves. The first Parliament might have laid claim to some indulgence for its compliant spirit, but the Queen thought it presumptuous for proposing her marriage with an Englishman, so she dissolved it, and interfered arbitrarily with its decrees. The performance of divine service in the English language was forbidden; many thousand married clergymen were driven with their wives and children from their offices, and reduced to beggary. Soon afterwards a marriage scheme was formed in the background of which a fearful ecclesiastical counter revolution was justly foreseen.

That at her age the Queen should still entertain the thought of marriage appeared natural to every one. It was wished in England that she should marry an Englishman, and in the highest circles and in Parliament the young Earl of Devonshire was thought of as a candidate for her hand. But the daughter of a princess of Aragon would not hear of an Englishman. She had never had any personal

attachment ; it was not difficult to believe her when she told the imperial ambassador that she did not know what love was, but that it had always been the secret wish of her heart to form a marriage with the best Catholic house, that of Spain. The hand of Philip II. was just then set free by the death of his second wife, and Mary had turned her eyes towards him. They were already diplomatically casting about for a wife for him, and had been negotiating with Portugal, when it was learnt that he would meet with the most cordial reception in England.

The Emperor was most agreeably surprised by Mary's communication. Father and son had just suffered a great defeat in Germany ; the connection with England seemed to offer compensation. The marriage treaty was concluded ; Mary secretly consented to it in October, 1553 ; but the mere report of it sufficed to set all England in a commotion. Spanish absolutism and the Spanish inquisition were already beheld transplanted to England.

For the first time all parties were united in their fears. Parliament spoke against the marriage, and was dissolved. It then came to open rebellion. The nobles, who saw their possession of Church property rather than their faith endangered, were in a mutinous frame of mind ; outbreaks took place in Kent and Cornwall. It was difficult to say whether the voices of the Protestants or of the English nation itself prevailed.

The revolts of Wyatt and Carew failed ignominiously, and the results followed which almost always ensue from unsuccessful revolts. The Queen went still more recklessly forwards. She was not cruel by nature, but after being threatened with insurrection in her own capital, she was resolved upon the worst.

In February, 1554, fifty people were hung, and the un-

fortunate Lady Jane Grey, an amiable, inoffensive person, entirely innocent of any share in recent events, was brought to the scaffold as a possible accomplice, together with her husband and the Duke of Suffolk. Elizabeth was also imprisoned in the Tower, but as nothing could be proved against her, she was soon set at liberty.

The marriage of Mary with Philip of Spain took place in July, 1554. The new Parliament, worked upon and intimidated, had approved the marriage treaty, but it did not seem at all disposed to set its seal to the completion of the Catholic restoration, and was therefore immediately dismissed. King Philip was as amiable and affable as his Spanish haughtiness permitted, and acquired numerous friends among the aristocracy by showering pensions and favours around him.

The Queen, meanwhile, impatiently urged a complete return under the authority of the Pope. Her ecclesiastical title, the leniency towards the heretics, to which she had been compelled, the spoil of Church property which had been begun, lay heavily upon her conscience as sins for which she was personally responsible. However impolitic this might be as far as the English crown was concerned, it so much the more proved the sincerity of her fanaticism. The Church property had been unmercifully cut up ; a large portion of it had been seized by the Crown itself, and, fortunately for England, sold again at prices so moderate that the well-to-do middle class gained immense wealth by it. The question, how to right this wrong without committing another, was a very complicated one. As it is not seldom the case that men find it harder to surrender a portion of their worldly goods than to abjure their faith, it might be expected that the great majority would sooner put up with a return to the mass, the papal supremacy, and

even to the laws against heresy than to a demand for the restoration of Church property.

It does honour to the Queen's faithfulness to her convictions, if not to her political insight, that this was not her feeling—that she would have liked to restore her own estates which had fallen to the Crown, together with the others; but in this view she was entirely alone.

No decisive progress could be made in England without a dispensation to secure the forty thousand heads of families in the possession of the Church property they had purchased, but with it everything might be attained.

In fact, the new Parliament declared itself ready to abjure its Protestantism, and to regulate the Church and her doctrine in accordance with the Pope's pleasure if no one would interfere with the distribution of Church property, and when a pledge to this effect was given, it consented to render obedience to the Pope and to renew the edicts against heretics.*

Thus the counter revolution was legalised, and the trials for heresy could begin. All the more eminent foes of Catholicism, among them the first names in the nation, and the stars of English learning, were summoned before the inquisition, condemned, and executed, not for any guilty deeds, attempts at insurrection, or for disturbing Catholic worship, but solely for theoretical views on religious questions which differed from those of Gardiner, Bonner, and the rest of the strict Catholics. The intellectual aristocracy of the land was brought to the scaffold, and most of the victims met their fate in a manner worthy of their moral rank. During the three years before Mary's death it was reckoned that two hundred and seventy heretics were burnt, among whom were fifty-five women and four children. One

* Ranke, E. G., i. 267.

of the first victims was old Archbishop Cranmer, who had hitherto managed to pass muster, but was now thrown into prison by his mortal enemy, Gardiner. By a disgraceful transaction he was induced to try to save his little span of life by a recantation, and yet he was burnt. An odious game was played with the old man, which outrages every feeling of humanity.

For Protestant England these days of persecution, in which the best blood of the nation was spilt, was a time of awakening and revival. Up to this time it had been the custom to adhere in the main to traditional views of religion, but to change their outward garb with the changes of the government.

Mary no longer allowed any freedom of choice. She did her best to separate the chaff from the wheat. To set against the thousands who bowed down before each successive government, there were hundreds who preferred death to giving up an iota of their faith. Indeed, under the impression of the sublime contempt of death with which most of them mounted the scaffold, all the Protestant part of the nation gradually became inspired with sentiments of emulative self-sacrifice; death lost his sting, the leaders drew the multitudes along with them, and faithfulness unto death, which had hitherto been wanting to English Protestantism, was given to it by its bitterest enemy.

If Protestantism stood this fiery trial, it could not fail to become more than it had hitherto been. No longer something officially commanded or tolerated, it would be strong enough to stand alone.

All that was now wanting was that the government in its foreign policy should take an anti-national course, and thus make the sufferings of a party coincident with the shame and enthrallment of a whole nation.

This was effected by the foolish part which Mary in her infatuation was induced to take in the Spanish-French war. The defender of Metz, Francis of Guise, took Calais from England, January, 1558—the last proud reminiscence of the time when England ruled as far as the Loire was lost, because the Queen sided with Spain, and a dangerous misunderstanding had arisen at home.

Pope Paul IV., the Pope of the most rigid and relentless restoration, had reversed the decision of his predecessor on the subject of Church property, and demanded at least the devolution of the Church property in possession of the Crown. Mary, with whom this was a matter of conscience, appeared herself in Parliament to urge this act of justice, and succeeded in carrying it by a very small majority, December, 1555; but the suspicions of the aristocracy who had Church property in their private possession could no longer be subdued. To add to this was the unhappy war. Parliament would not grant any further supplies; the Government imposed arbitrary taxes, and proceeded with violence against the courts which sided with those who refused to pay the taxes. The Government, which persecuted the Protestants as if they had been criminals, with fire and sword, trod also the laws of the land underfoot, and sacrificed the national honour. Thus the idea arose that Protestantism and English nationality were identical, and the Government had reached that point which Charles V. and Cardinal Pole warned them to avoid if they did not wish that the country should be made Protestant by force.

General and increasing discontent prevailed. If a revolution broke out, no legitimacy could protect the Queen; it would be sure to succeed. Just when suspense had reached its height, on the 17th of November, 1558, Mary died.

She was quite forsaken in her latter days; even Cardinal

Pole no longer possessed her confidence ; she had only the fanatical Bonner now, as ever, on her side. She died just in time to escape being the victim of a revolution.

There was no doubt in the minds of the people as to her successor. Mary had never regarded her sister Elizabeth with affection, and it was not to be expected of her ; but the Protestant Elizabeth had, with great prudence and no small success, avoided everything which would have rendered her suspicious in the eyes of her sister. Had she not done so, it would have been easy for Mary to have had her executed as a heretic, and thereby to have smoothed the path of Mary Stuart to the throne. But Elizabeth had happily outlived the time of persecution, and was now led forth from the Tower to be seated on the throne.

CHAPTER XLII.

QUEEN ELIZABETH, 1558-1603.

Cautious beginnings.—The Parliament of 1559 and the Re-establishment of the Anglican Church.—Beginning of the conflict with Mary Stuart.—The Reformation in Scotland, John Knox.—Mary Stuart in Scotland, 1561-8.—Darnley.—Rizzio.—Bothwell.—Mary Stuart in England.—Attitude of Rome and Spain against Elizabeth.—The Conspiracies.—Norfolk, 1569-1572.—Elizabeth's forced enmity towards Rome and Spain, 1572-85.—Conspiracy of Savage and Babington.—Mary Stuart's Trial and Execution, 1586-7.—The Spanish Armada and Elizabeth's last days, 1603.

CAUTIOUS BEGINNINGS. THE PARLIAMENT OF 1559, AND THE RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF ANGLICANISM.

QUEEN ELIZABETH had preserved a sound mind during years of suffering and oppression. During the five years of Mary's reign she was watched by spies belonging to the ruling party, whose whole endeavours were directed to surprising her in some false step, so that she might be put to death as a conspirator. She avoided all their snares with great dexterity, and so escaped the fate of Lady Jane Grey.* Her lot had been pretty much the same as that in which Mary imbibed her gloomy misanthropy, but her character was totally different; she had the youthful sprightliness, the light French blood of her mother, just the qualities which had captivated Henry VIII.,

* For the part taken in this matter by Philip II. see Ranke, i. 293.

though she had not her mother's beauty. Her sufferings had not crushed her spirit, nor disturbed her love of and confidence in the world. As triumphant as if she had had a happy life to look back upon, she stepped from her prison to the throne, resolved to remember no longer that her life had been schemed against, to reign as if she had always been treated as the future Queen. She could associate without constraint, and as if nothing had happened between them, with men who had conspired against her life. It was not everybody who could have done this, and after a period of bitter and bloody party conflicts, had it been for this reason only, this reign would have been a blessing to the country.

Although mortally hated by the Catholics, Elizabeth did not hate them. On the contrary, it often appeared as if she was too lenient towards them. With all her weaknesses and bitternesses, hers was a character which people could not help liking in spite of all her calumniators. She *was* just what she appeared to be; with her feminine sensitiveness, her often ludicrous vanity, and her love of homage and flattery, great and regal qualities were united; her whole life was a manly struggle to uphold the power of the State and the national idea, and when she had to choose between her personal tastes and fancies, and the great requirements of the State, she never failed to choose the latter. The Englishman is right in holding his "Queen Bess" in grateful remembrance. She gave her country fifty years of domestic peace, security, and order, and laid the foundation of England's greatness; not that she did it all herself, but nothing was done in which she did not take a decided part.

She did not, when she began to reign in 1558, seem likely to become the Elizabeth she afterwards proved her-

self to be—the pillar of Protestantism, the opponent of Spain and Rome.

At first she had neither inclination nor occasion to take this part. Though not romantic, she was easily interested in such ideas; she was cool, quiet, and reasonable, not without a trace of cunning which often became falseness; it was her intention to keep peace with all parties, and Europe was chiefly to blame for the fact that she afterwards diverged from this path. She had at first no other idea than to leave Catholicism alone, though she intended to grant the legal protection to Protestantism, which it had to dispense with under Mary. Her first act therefore was to put a stop to the bloody edicts against heresy, and to abolish the courts for trying it; but there was nothing else that bore any special Protestant stamp, no declaration was made that Catholicism was no longer the dominant religion in the State, and at this the Protestants who had been persecuted and oppressed took offence.

This did not arise altogether from the feminine tendency to mediate, where men had quarrelled; there was another reason for it. Elizabeth did not hate Catholicism; she was a Tudor, and every one who bore that name placed a high value upon authority, and in the eyes of many the Catholic hierarchy was authority personified; then the outward pomp and consecrated splendour of the Romish worship was imposing to her womanish character.

Thus her first ecclesiastical acts might be called syncretistic. She went to mass because she thought she owed it to her Catholic subjects; she even forbade the preaching because of the disputes about the pulpits that began to arise, but in the rest of the service she permitted the use of the English language which had been forbidden by Mary; she took care, however, not arbitrarily to undo what Mary

had done. She did not wish that it should appear that she was giving things a one-sided Protestant colouring. It was her desire to be at peace with Spain, Rome, and France, with all the world, in fact, as well as with her own country.

Her first proceedings in religious matters are connected with the dissolution of the old Parliament and the election of a new one.

It was quite intelligible that, in 1553, the popular voice, excited and irritated as the nation was, should be sincerely in favour of the Catholic party, and that it should therefore have the majority at the elections; but it was equally intelligible that, after five years of bloody persecution, an entire change should have taken place, and that not a single Catholic candidate was even nominated. There was no need for Elizabeth to speak, the people spoke for themselves.

All that Mary's government had achieved for Catholicism was the defection of the nation. Government and Parliament now went hand in hand, to restore the most important things which had been abolished under Mary, and they succeeded with comparatively little resistance.

The completion of the national Church of England, of which the foundations had been laid under Edward VI., was now taken in hand; and in all essential points it remains to this day as it was then built up. The mass was abolished, the liturgy of Edward VI., and the royal supremacy in ecclesiastical matters restored. The new organization overcame all opposition, and excluded every element which, tending either to Catholicism or Calvinism, held opinions differing from its own. The new Church undoubtedly comprised the greater part of the nation; but on the one hand there were the Catholics who were excluded

from the government, on the other the strict Reformers of the Genevan school, who accepted the breach with Rome and the Papacy as a matter of course, but did not like the English hierarchy. Perhaps, if votes were taken now, the majority of the nation would belong to the opponents of the Anglican Church, but the structure raised by Queen Elizabeth is still practically of great importance; it is based upon a well organized and internally coherent ecclesiastical hierarchy; it possesses very considerable power through its Church property, which though then diminished has since greatly increased, a number of seats in the lower house are at its disposal.* Through the bishops it occupies a number of seats in the upper house, and is thereby an essential support of the aristocratic constitution of England.

It is possible to have a great aversion to a State Church, and yet to be compelled to admit that at that time, after the confusion and transitions of the last thirty years, it was necessary to establish an organization which should brave all future storms. This the English Church has done; she has survived two revolutions and remains to this day, no longer, indeed, exercising the same spiritual authority, but holding the same political position as she did then.

Elizabeth did not bring this project with her ready made to the throne; but when with a true instinct she perceived the need of it, she allowed the voice of the people to be heard, and gave her sanction to what was for their interest.

On these points she allowed herself to be borne on by the voices and movements of the people, and her relations with the different parties were by no means so sharply defined as we commonly suppose. We think of her as the mortal foe of King Philip and the Papal Curia, as the

* On this point Professor Häusser has evidently been misinformed.—*Tr.*

protector of the Netherlands and the Huguenots ; we shall see her afterwards playing these parts, but she did not begin to play them at once. She still wrote to Madrid and Rome in a tone of affection, and it was only when she ceased to do so, that it was remarked that she was not a legitimate daughter of Henry VIII., that she had no right to the throne, and that the voice of Parliament, which was more decidedly on her side than it had been on Mary's, was null and void.

The opposition to her right to the throne by all the foes of English Protestantism and English liberties, gradually compelled her to take up a position of decided partisanship, which was rendered doubly bitter by the fact that it was coloured by personal intrigues and interests. The personage who was opposed to her as the Pretender to the throne by the Catholic powers, who disputed her honourable birth and her claim to the throne, was her neighbour in Scotland, Mary Stuart, who entered into the contest with all a woman's passion.

These two women quarrelled after the fashion of their sex ; the one was a frivolous coquet who knew nothing of self-control, the other did exercise it, though also a sensuous woman ; the one possessed all the virtues and vices belonging to such a character, the other, though not free from affected prudery, was sustained by a certain masculine ambition and political greatness wholly wanting in the other. They were complete contrasts in most of their characteristics, and they could not live together in peace when politics brought them in contact. Elizabeth must either subject herself to the Queen of Scotland—that is, renounce her throne and honour, or carry on a struggle with her for life and death ; there was no third course.

When Elizabeth first came to the throne no opposition

was offered by the powers which afterwards opposed her ;* it was only after the ecclesiastical proceedings that the legitimacy was called in question ; at first in whispers, and then openly declared against. The same confusion of ideas prevailed which had been employed against Mary on the other side.

Those who considered her mother's adultery as proved, might pronounce Elizabeth illegitimate. Her sister Mary had always treated her as her father's legitimate daughter.

Mary Stuart's right was indisputable, but it would only come into force after the death of Elizabeth and her heirs.

Margaret, eldest daughter of Henry VII., first of the Tudors, made a Scotch marriage, and as wife of James IV. (1513), became the mother of James V. He married Mary of Guise, a sister of the Victor of Calais and the spokesman of Trent. Of this union was born Mary Stuart, as she was called, to distinguish her from the other Marys who played a part in her history. When very young she was married in France to Francis II., who began to reign in 1559 and died in 1560. It may have been partly this circumstance which prevented the Catholic opponents of Elizabeth from earlier thinking of setting up Mary Stuart as a pretender to the throne. It was only really as Queen that success for the scheme could be looked for ; before she was Queen, and when she was so shortly Queen no longer, there was no prospect of it.

Mary Stuart was a widow at eighteen. There was no lack of proposals of a second marriage, for her youth and beauty and the possession of the crown of Scotland made her a desirable match. Philip II. knocked at her door as

* Häusser appears not to regard the Pope's protest (Ranke, i. 301), as it had no immediate consequences.—ED.

he did at Elizabeth's. She did not, however, then form any second marriage, but followed the advice of her uncle, to cross over to Scotland and take possession of her throne. Up to this time the government had been carried on by her mother, Mary of Guise.

With Mary's reign in Scotland the contest between the two Queens began.

Mary assumed the rights of a crown which were of themselves difficult to defend, and they had just met with a strong counterpoise in the Reformation.

THE REFORMATION IN SCOTLAND.

The monarchy in Scotland had always been a limited one, partly from the power of the landed nobles, partly from the defiant and independent spirit of the people. Revolt against the royal authority was an everyday affair. The resolve to rush into the king's presence with pikes and guns was accompanied by no more hesitation or pricks of conscience than it was anywhere else in the Middle Ages.

If any of the nobles were dissatisfied with the Crown, they stirred up a quarrel, and followers were seldom wanting among their vassals and the people. To reign amidst difficulties so great required a tact which the Stuarts by no means possessed. Their arrogance, their exaggerated idea of the sacredness of their authority, their severity, capricious obstinacy and unyielding defiance, their proverbial vacillation between despondency and presumption, totally unfitted them to be rulers of Scotland.

King James V. died on the 14th of September, 1542, and Mary was born only a few days before his death. There was therefore no king in Scotland ; the heiress to the throne was a new-born babe, and her guardian was a Guise. This happened, too, at a time when that great crisis was takin

place in the North of Europe, in which everybody was either engulfed in the reform movement or resolutely opposed it.

Scotland was also affected by it, but 'differently from England. The Reformation there took a course of its own. In this case it was not the conflict of theological opinions or national aversion to interference from Rome, but the degenerate lives of the clergy which gave the impulse to it. It was not the whim of the sovereign, or the shrewd calculations and political ambition of a ruler which gave rise to the breach, but the moral exasperation and love of liberty of the best spirits in the nation.

Calvinistic Geneva was the school of Scotch Protestantism ; and inasmuch as Calvinism was one of the most remarkable figures of the age, Scotland, its favourite daughter, claims a special interest.

John Knox (born 1505) takes the foremost place in this movement. With the fiery zeal, the rigid strictness, the gloomy theocratic sentiments of Calvin, he united the unyielding love of liberty, the stormy spirit of opposition, which belong to his nation. A Calvinist than whom, Calvin himself excepted, there never was a more rigid one ; a man of blameless purity of life, a preacher like his master, and filled with the theocratic zeal of an Old Testament prophet, he possessed the unconciliatory radicalism of these revolutionary tendencies. In his ideal of Church and State there was neither royal nor priestly supremacy. The priesthood and the clergy were to be abolished, the Romish worship expunged from the earth, the ruler or nobleman who made an ill use of his rank should be outlawed, unconditional church reform was the sacred duty of the community, if the rulers neglected it, and no pains must be spared in the execution of this duty.

Under the regency of Mary of Guise he had been com-

pelled to leave Scotland. At first he was a convict in the galleys in France ; then he went to Geneva, and sat at the feet of Calvin.

On his return, at the end of 1555, he began to preach Calvinism with all its exclusiveness, but also with all its energy and greatness of character. He began by quietly forming congregations, to whom he administered the Lord's Supper according to Protestant forms. The common bond was—no communion with Romish "idolatry," and adherence to the word of God unto death. In this propaganda the example of the mother Church at Geneva was first carried out on a larger scale ; the principle of self-government by self-elected elders and ministers was introduced, and the rigid simplicity and plainness of the Calvinistic worship carried to a fanatical point. Knox went further than Calvin, because he was surrounded by a Catholic State Church which violently opposed every innovation ; and amidst the irritation occasioned by this Scotch Calvinism assumed an exaggerated degree of rigidity and austerity.

It was the peculiarity of Calvinism that it was more than any other phase of Protestantism the implacable enemy of the Roman Catholic Church and worship, and that it was represented by characters who personified it, from its greatest features to the minutest detail, with inimitable onesidedness.

John Knox was one of these men ; half prophet, half tribune, dictator to the Church, pulpit orator, and popular agitator, he carried his countrymen along with him as no one else could. Contrast this gloomy personage, full of pith and marrow, with the bright Mary Stuart, who was just opening to the pleasures of life, brought up in the elegant, immoral atmosphere of the French court, and you will have some idea of the incongruous elements which were soon to produce an explosion.

There was a powerful nobility in Scotland, who had always looked upon the Stuarts merely as their equals, and in the violence of the government and clergy against the heretical doctrines they saw a menacing assertion of the royal authority. A great many of the nobles adopted the new doctrines, which were a pledge alike of religious and political liberty. One of their most zealous partisans was one of the Stuarts themselves. James V. had seduced a noble lady, and a son was born who bore his father's name, and whom Mary herself afterwards created Earl of Moray. The father's sin was to be revenged on him. He was a gifted and passionate man, attached by conviction to the new doctrines, and he was in the foremost ranks of its adherents.

In March, 1559, the Protestant nobles demanded of the Regent that the bishops should be chosen by the nobles of the diocese, the ministers by the congregation, and that divine service should be performed in the native tongue. Instead of granting it, the clergy persuaded the Regent to let the courts take proceedings against the heretics. In May, therefore, stormy scenes took place.

John Knox, who had just returned to Scotland, preached fiery sermons against the idolatry of the mass and the worship of saints, and but a slight impulse was wanting to incite the masses to violence. In Perth an attack began upon images, altars, monasteries, and abbeys, which in a few days spread over a great part of the land, and was followed by a tumultuous victory for the Protestant worship. A number of churches were dismantled, about two hundred monasteries destroyed, the mass abolished, and the liturgy of Edward VI. introduced.

By means of promises, intended to be broken on the first opportunity, the Regent tried to quell these disturbances;

but when French troops arrived in the country it came to open revolt. In October, 1559, the Presbyterian party met as the "nobles and commonalty of the Scotch Church," and declared that the Regent had forfeited her office by her infringement of the constitution.

The unity of religious and political revolution had become a fact, and the preachers justified these proceedings from the Bible.

It was therefore political as well as religious considerations which helped to procure victory for the revolution.

Elizabeth was not enough of a heroine of the faith, and too much of a Tudor, to lend a hand to the rebels against a legal government.* Philip II. must have regarded the proceedings of the Scotch Presbyterians as an unpardonable crime against all that he held sacred as a ruler and a Catholic, and yet even he advised that the Scotch should be supported against the Regent; for an union of the crowns of France and Scotland appeared more dangerous to him than even the Calvinistic heresy, and this consideration at length prevailed with Elizabeth.

Through the aid of England a treaty was concluded at Edinburgh in 1560, according to which the French troops were to withdraw. With this, the last obstacle to the complete victory of the Presbyterians disappeared, and Parliament could make the Protestant faith, the abolition of episcopacy and the mass the law of the land without opposition.

This was the position of affairs in Scotland when, in the summer of 1561, Queen Mary, who had been a widow since December, 1560, arrived in Scotland.

* Compare the characteristic letter to Mary Tudor of 1556.—Raumer.

MARY STUART IN SCOTLAND.—1561-68.

The Stuarts are one of the most unfortunate royal families in history. James I. and III. were murdered, James II. was killed by the bursting of a gun, James IV. fell in battle, and James V. had to submit to the aristocracy. He died with the most gloomy forebodings. When, on his deathbed, the birth of his daughter, Mary Stuart, was announced to him, he said, "The kingdom cam' wi' a lass" (the daughter of Robert Bruce), "an' it wull gae wi' a lass." From the circumstances under which Mary came to the throne, it could scarcely be hoped that this family misfortune would yield to a better fate.

The country was ruled by an austere fanatical Protestantism; the Queen was a zealous Catholic; a tone of gloomy severity of morals reigned in the new Church. Mary was a young, pleasure-loving woman, in the heyday of life, and came from a luxurious and frivolous court, which was regarded by the Calvinists with horror; the country had ridden itself of the French by force, and Mary was accompanied by French courtiers, jesters, and confessors, who daily reminded the people that their Queen was a foreigner.

The days of her reception were the happiest that Mary spent in Scotland. The Scotch have themselves described how the beautiful young Queen was greeted by the rejoicings of the people. She was a real ruler, after there had been a regency for nearly twenty years; but in the solemn processions which went forth to meet her there were many things in the devices and songs which breathed the Calvinistic hatred of Papal idolatry.

Mary was soon to feel this more keenly. Zealous Catholic as she was, she would have liked to make her creed once more that of the whole country; but as it was

impossible even to attempt this, she desired at least to be unmolested in her Catholic domestic worship and the private service in her chapel. But the fanaticism of the all-powerful John Knox would not permit it. He and his party preached openly against the heresies of the unconverted Queen. Knox allowed himself to say in his prayers in the church—"Purify, O Lord, the heart of the Queen from the poison of idolatry, release her from the bondage of Satan in which she was brought up, and in which, from want of true teaching, she still remains." And when mass was read in all privacy before the Queen, tumults took place in which several priests and persons about her had their heads broken and their ears cut off.*

Queen Elizabeth watched these events with the interest of a person whom they concerned more nearly than any one else. From the time when Mary first set her foot upon Scotch soil, she found herself in opposition to Elizabeth. Elizabeth demanded the recognition of the Treaty of Edinburgh, which Mary absolutely refused. It may easily be imagined, therefore, with what feelings she watched the fate of the Queen of Scotland.

She took pleasure in her rival's self-made difficulties, for they lamed her, and while her possession of the Scotch crown was in the balance, she could scarcely think of grasping at the English one. She supported the Scotch nobles in their opposition, and the Calvinists in their defiance, while in England she kept both these parties within very circumscribed limits. Mary had not given up any of her projects against Elizabeth and Protestant fanaticism; but she took care not to increase her isolation by giving any challenge to England.

* Even as early as September 8th, 1861, a few days after her arrival.
—Raumer.

For a time the two Queens thought it well to write the most amicable and peaceable letters to each other ; but, politically, they were entirely at variance.

Meanwhile, Scotland was in a state bordering on anarchy, in which Mary could with difficulty maintain her position. The barons and the Calvinists attempted to overthrow her Government with one blow ; but this revolt was quelled in 1653.

This convinced Mary that if she took advantage of her enemies' mistakes she should be able to maintain her power, but that in the present excitable state of the people she must not expose herself to attack.

The life she led was certainly not adapted to inspire the Scots with respect for a crown, the value of which depended on the personal excellence of the wearer.

In her intercourse with men, she was frivolous to a degree which it did not require Puritanical strictness to think repulsive. In the case of such characters, report often exceeds anything that admits of proof ; and if more is laid to Mary Stuart's charge than holds good under strict investigation, there is so much that is historical that there is no need to add to it.

To avoid scandal, and to have a support in some man against the nobles, she resolved upon a second marriage.

There were many distinguished Scotchmen—for a Scotchman it was to be—who might be proposed to her as husbands, and among them were some worthy and excellent men. But she selected amongst her suitors the handsomest and most empty headed, her cousin, the Earl of Darnley, who, as Dahlmann says, "was nothing but that repulsive object called a beautiful man." Like her, he was vain, superficial, frivolous, and a flirt, and as cowardly and devoid of character as a man could be. He had previously

conspired against her, and now joined her in proceeding against the conspirators. She was not guided in her choice by any idea of duty or political interest, but by a fugitive sensual fancy.

Elizabeth was not inaccessible to such feelings. She had her preferences, and many a man was pleasing to her ; but when she seriously entertained the idea of sharing her throne with any foreign prince, she began to consider whether it would comport with her national policy ; and when an English nobleman was in question, she did not forget what was implied in raising a subject to the throne. She flirted and coquetted with Leicester and others ; but would not permit any one of them to become her master.

Mary celebrated her marriage with Darnley in July, 1565. It may be imagined how it turned out.

After the first fleeting pleasure was over, they went their separate ways. The King, who took no pleasure in anything but coarse excesses, soon joined a set of lawless comrades, and they played all sorts of pranks, which would have been unpardonable in any one, and were totally unworthy of a King. The Queen did not conceal her contempt for her husband, and they soon ceased to meet. The only result of this marriage was the birth of a successor to the throne ; but, before the future King was born, the relations of the conjugal pair were disclosed to all the world by a frightful catastrophe.

Mary's favourite at that time was an Italian, David Rizzio, who beguiled her lonely hours with his musical talents ; the King, probably quite unjustly, called him her paramour—not that Mary was incapable of unfaithfulness ; but there is no proof whatever except her husband's accusations, and the relation admits of an innocent explanation : she found a companion and confidant in the skilful Italian, and in

many respects he compensated for what she lacked in her husband.

He sang well, and she was fond of music ; he was a skilful correspondent, and she wanted one ; otherwise, he was not particularly likely to have been the lover of the Queen. It appears to me that he was nothing more to Mary than the secretary who carried on her private correspondence with Rome and Madrid, and this was why John Knox and his party were so furious against him. To them he was not the Queen's paramour ; but the Papist in the service of the Catholic with her plans of restoration.

This relation—unwise, imprudent, but not culpable—inflamed the King's wrath and the thirst for revenge of his wild companions. A horrible project was formed of murdering the Italian, who during the evening was generally to be found with the Queen in the ladies' apartments. One evening, in March, 1566, the conspirators entered the Queen's apartment, some Scotch lords, and among them the King, not courageous enough to strike the blow himself, but base enough to cause it to be done by others.* Rizzio threw himself at the Queen's feet, weeping like a child. He was dragged into an adjoining room, and dispatched with fifty-six blows.

It would have required more than human self-control in the Queen to forget that it was the man whom she had raised to the throne who had committed this shameful deed, unexampled in history, before her eyes.

It was intended to appear to the world as a punishment for adultery ; thus, while Rizzio was pierced by one dagger, another was aimed at the Queen. She was then pregnant with the prince, who was born three months after-

* According to the French ambassador's report (Raumer) he, Darnley, struck the first blow.—ED.

wards ; and it is worthy of remark, that this weakly creature came into the world at this tragical time. It was ascribed to his mother's excitement at the time of the murder that James I. could not see a naked sword without shuddering.

The Queen naturally entertained only thoughts of revenge towards her unworthy husband ; but there is a long step from these feelings of hatred to that which really took place. In public opinion, Darnley had nothing more to lose, but the Queen had not gained anything. The public feeling was less favourable to her than before this catastrophe, and the Calvinistic preachers raved against her as an adulteress.

Among the men distinguished by the Queen's favour, there was one remarkable for his rash daring, and, as it appears, for his seductive talents, the Earl of Bothwell, a man who stood on the boundary line between a hero and a captain of banditti, and it was in the latter capacity that he ended his career. It was his belief that no woman could withstand him, and his conquest of the Queen seems to justify the idea ; he also held that the end justifies the means. He was a person whom no one liked, but neither, before the Queen favoured him, did any one hate him. His past life and the history of his marriage gave rise to great calumny, and he was held to be capable of the darkest crimes.

With this creature the Queen entered into friendly relations ; and, in spite of all the efforts of her defenders, it is still unproved that the love letters to him are not genuine, that the scented French verses to Bothwell were not by her hand.* So far could the sensuality of this woman lead her astray, that, in order to get rid of Darnley, she fled into the arms of his murderer.

* Even Ranke considers them genuine in the main.

The year 1556 was coming to an end. Darnley and the Queen had not met for months. Darnley then fell dangerously ill, and there were all sorts of scandals as to the cause and nature of his malady, when it was reported that Mary was reconciled to Rizzio's murderer, had visited him at Glasgow, had him brought near to her palace at Edinburgh in a litter, and nursed him devotedly night and day. All this was true. But on the 9th of February, 1567, Mary was at a court ball, and two hours after midnight Edinburgh was awakened out of sleep by a terrible explosion. The house in which the sick Darnley was lying was blown up while he was in it; his body was found in a neighbouring garden.*

In all Scotland there was but one opinion: that this deed was done by Bothwell. Some suspected the Queen of being directly or indirectly an accomplice, and her conduct before and after showed that, at any rate, she approved of the act, though perhaps she did not help to originate it.

A storm of exasperation burst over the country. Bothwell was openly accused of the murder by handbills in the streets, and punishment was demanded for him and his accomplices. The Queen gave a reward to one of the servants who was openly accused of being one; and, instead of bringing Bothwell to trial, she made him commandant of Edinburgh. In possession of this dignity, and still a member of the privy council, he conducted his own trial, appeared before the court with his accomplices armed, and persuaded the judges, who were all his followers, to acquit him. The judges, so called, dared to say, among other things, that the indictment was null, for it described the murder on the 9th of February, whereas it took place at two in the morning of the 10th. A number of members of Parliament, at

* And strangled, so that he had survived the explosion.—Raumer.

a jovial supper given by Bothwell, even went so far as to recommend him, a married man, as a husband for the Queen.

Scotland had scarcely recovered from the excitement of the murder and this disgraceful trial, when it was surprised by some news which surpassed everything.

It was reported that Bothwell had, with her consent, carried off the Queen to his castle, and a few days afterwards, that she had married the murderer of her husband, scarcely cold in his grave.

Nothing can be more disgusting than the lying part which the Queen played in this affair; she allowed herself to be abducted, acted the part of a prisoner, and then declared that she had been carried off by force, but that Bothwell had behaved so well to her, that she had resolved to marry him. For a woman of five-and-twenty to be ready to give her hand to her husband's murderer, however guilty he might be, was to be sunk low indeed.

The revolt now broke out which overturned Mary's throne, and drove her, as a helpless fugitive, into the arms of her rival. Elizabeth possessed neither magnanimity nor insight enough to let her alone, now that she was no longer dangerous. She did what was neither noble nor prudent: gave her a friendly invitation, and then let her languish in prison, which only made her dangerous; for it caused her crimes to be forgotten.

MARY STUART IN ENGLAND.—ROME AND SPAIN TURN AGAINST ELIZABETH.—THE CONSPIRACIES — NORFOLK, 1569-72.

It was a strange resolve of Mary's to fly to England. Elizabeth had been pronounced illegitimate by the Pope, and therefore incapable of reigning; the negotiations be-

tween her and Mary as to the succession in England had not led to any result ; the Queen looked upon Mary as an inconvenient rival, the nation as its bitterest enemy. Her history and reputation made it unlikely that a rebellion of the Catholics would be excited in her favour against Elizabeth. Mary's resolution, therefore, could only have been formed in a moment of excitement, and was not based upon any sound political considerations.

She was soon bitterly punished for it. She had stormed Elizabeth with letters ; she had sent her complaints against the Scotch nobles, urgent entreaties for help, assurances of devotion, and descriptions of her pitiful condition, as if she thought that Elizabeth could have no other idea than to relieve her in her distress, to defeat her enemies, and replace her on the throne with English arms.

Elizabeth was too much of a Tudor not to disapprove the revolt of the barons under Moray ; her opinions on the sovereignty of rulers were almost as strict as those of the Stuarts ; but there was a long way from these sentiments to undertaking the restoration of Mary.

The fugitive Queen was not received in an unfriendly manner. Elizabeth allowed her to be greeted on the frontier with the honours pertaining to her rank, and accompanied to Carlisle ; but there she was imprisoned, and the series of Elizabeth's errors begins.

Mary was kept in a state of mild, but well-watched imprisonment, which she felt all the more keenly, because it was pretended that she was only watched. Elizabeth had chosen a course which was half legal, but which could neither conciliate Mary, nor make her harmless ; indeed, it was just this mode of imprisonment which made her dangerous, for, for eighteen years, she was the soul of a series of conspiracies which only increased the painfulness of her lot.

It was a spot on Elizabeth's character that she betrayed the confidence of an unhappy woman who sought her help, and placed her enemy in an attitude of self-defence. Either that which it was afterwards thought necessary to do should have been done at once, or the world's reproach should have been averted by conciliation and magnanimity, which would at the same time have rendered Mary harmless.

Womanlike, Elizabeth chose a middle course, which, instead of having the advantages she desired, had precisely the disadvantages she wished to avoid.

Mary was enough under restraint to learn to hate Elizabeth as her mortal enemy, but enough at liberty to set conspiracies on foot against her.

Elizabeth had no intention of re-instating Mary upon the throne of Scotland, but declared herself ready to do so if the conflicting parties would submit to her arbitration, and Mary should be pronounced innocent of Darnley's murder; but she absolutely refused her the desired permission to go free to France or Scotland.

After this Mary knew where she was. She wrote a proud and queenly letter to Elizabeth, reminding her that she came to find a helper in her, not a judge. Then she turned to the kings of Spain and France for help against the Queen of England; but this step brought no succour. Philip II. was prevented by the Moriscoes, Charles IX. by the Huguenots, and the only effect of it was to cause Elizabeth to remove the prisoner further from the frontier to Bolton Castle for greater security.

A fruitless attempt at arbitration was followed by the long series of plots and projects, the last and greatest of which led to Mary's execution. This contest of eighteen years with her rival and her adherents, and the necessity at last of getting

rid of her, was the consequence of Elizabeth's first false step.

The first conspiracy proceeded from the House of Norfolk and others of the highest English nobles. The House of Norfolk had distinguished itself, partly at the head of affairs, and partly in the opposition, ever since the time of Henry VIII., and one of the members of it had played such a part as no other English magnate has done. A project was now formed by his grandson which would have united all the elements hostile to Elizabeth under one banner.

The Duke of Norfolk had numerous adherents among the Catholics of England, although himself, as he declared upon the scaffold, a Protestant ; there were advocates of his cause in the Queen's council, Spain and France were in his favour, and he had a project for securing the crown of Scotland for his family, and, after Elizabeth's death, that of England also, by gaining the hand of Mary Stuart. He was possessed of brilliant talents, was skilful in gaining adherents to his cause, and the past history of his house, as well as the number of his supporters among the highest aristocracy, justified him in aspiring to these projects. In reality, indeed, all this was but a web of self-deception. The Scotch scornfully rejected his advances at the first mention of them ; it was as great a folly to reckon upon Elizabeth's consent as upon help from France and Spain ; all that was certain was, that Mary wrote him the tenderest letters, and that some of the English aristocracy were ready to take up arms in his favour.

This was Mary's first plan of rescue. It coincided with a crisis in England's foreign policy. Elizabeth had detained Spanish ships which had taken refuge in English harbours from the Sea-Beggars, and seized the money which the Duke

of Alba was eagerly expecting. In revenge, Spain had made reprisals, both countries had declared war, and a Spanish invasion was expected. If it came to an irreparable breach, Mary and all her adherents would stand between two fires. In order to avert this, the conspirators, especially the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Arundel, laboured to compass the fall of Cecil, who was the soul of all measures in favour of Protestantism, and against the Catholic powers. They succeeded not only in this, but in inducing the Queen to enter into negotiations for a reconciliation with Spain and Mary ; but during these negotiations the conspiracy was betrayed.

Elizabeth was beside herself when she learnt what had happened, and was intended to happen among her most intimate advisers. So long as anything was hanging in the balance, she vacillated, and tried to find resources in half measures, not without a certain duplicity ; but at critical moments her masculine and resolute presence of mind never failed her, and did not fail her now.

Mary was immediately placed in stricter confinement at Coventry, and in order to be prepared against any attack by sea, the coast was guarded by seven of the largest ships of war, the land forces were summoned, and everything placed in readiness.

The Duke of Norfolk, seized with sudden faint-heartedness, came to London on a summons from the Queen, and was thrown into the Tower. Meanwhile the Duke of Northumberland and the Earl of Westmoreland effected a rising in the north of England ; the Catholics among the nobility and people of England joined them, and, preceded by a figure of Christ crucified, they swarmed over the country, rushed into the churches, burnt the Bibles and Prayer-Books, and again introduced the mass. The

Catholic arms had just been victorious over the Huguenots in France : it seemed as if there was to be a similar reaction in the north of England, which might perhaps turn to the advantage of Alba in the Netherlands. But the Queen's general, Thomas Ratcliffe, confronted the rebels and routed them without difficulty. The revolt was entirely quelled and the leaders had fled, when Pius V. hurled his ban at the heretical Queen and absolved her subjects from their oaths and fealty.

Queen Elizabeth answered this assault by a unanimous vote of Parliament, which declared every attack upon the legitimacy of the sovereign to be high treason, every assault on the Anglican Church a crime against the State.

Meanwhile, Norfolk, on a solemn promise to renounce all thoughts of marriage with Mary, was placed in less strict imprisonment ; but the conspiracy went on and assumed a very serious character. Besides the correspondence with Mary, there were negotiations with Spain and Rome carried on by a Florentine banker, Ridolfi, which were countenanced by a large number of the nobles. Norfolk promised to go over to Catholicism ; to place himself at the head of a Catholic conspiracy to liberate Mary and dethrone Elizabeth ; Spain promised a considerable number of troops. Alba was of opinion, that unless Elizabeth's person were secured, the revolt would share the fate of the last, and that it was not advisable for Spain to interfere until that was done.

In Spain it was greatly feared that the scheme for Elizabeth's marriage with the Duke of Anjou might succeed, and thus both empires would be united against Spain. It was therefore necessary before all things to capture or murder Elizabeth, and in July, 1571, Philip II. was discussing the subject with his council, when in England the whole plot

was discovered ; Norfolk was again in the Tower, and this time to leave it only for the scaffold, in June, 1572.

This was a death-blow to the aristocratic party ; similar attempts were made during the following years, Rome and Spain did not relax their efforts, but they did not find sufficient followers in England ; by degrees Elizabeth was forced into the camp of the irreconcilable enemies of Catholicism.

ELIZABETH'S FORCED ENMITY TOWARDS SPAIN AND ROME.

1572-85.

The next few years passed in perpetual irritation with the Catholic powers, conspiracies and attempts in favour of Mary, and vigorous measures of self-defence on the part of Elizabeth.

The contest between the two Queens assumed more and more a character of personal hostility, and Elizabeth became more and more convinced that she and Mary represented two great principles entirely opposed to each other. The designs of Spain and Rome allowed her to entertain no doubt of it, and the continuance of the plots compelled her to defend herself from foes where she had hitherto sought friends, and to look for support in quarters where she had hitherto met with refusals or an attitude of indifference.

Shortly after the Spanish-Roman scheme of getting rid of Elizabeth, and English Protestantism was frustrated by the execution of Norfolk, came the news of the massacre of St. Bartholomew. France had been suing for the friendship of England, a marriage scheme had been zealously advocated, and now came the news of this terrible massacre. A cry of rage and horror was raised throughout England and Scotland ; the aged Knox, who had one foot in the grave, again ascended the pulpit to testify against the horrid deed. Elizabeth and her council received the French Ambassador

in mourning ; she told him that France had betrayed her, and that she could but fear that those who had made the King of France the assassin of his own subjects, would make no difficulty of sacrificing her—a foreign Queen.*

After this experience, it seemed to be a necessary policy of self-defence for Elizabeth to assist the Beggars in the Netherlands, and the Huguenots in France to the utmost of her power ; their enemies were hers also, and reconciliation was no longer possible.

All this re-acted on Mary's fate. Soon after the discovery of the Norfolk plot, it had been openly said, that the axe must be laid to the root of the tree, that she who was the plotter of all this mischief must be put out of the way. Protestant theologians proved from the Bible that Mary had forfeited her life ; the lawyers referred to the laws against treason and revolt, and both houses of parliament desired that a bill of attainder should be brought in against the prisoner. Elizabeth rejected all these demands, but it was doubtful how long she would be able to do so.

Mary's situation had already become so hopeless that her imprisonment appeared like a sort of protection against the passionate revenge of the English people, while her over-zealous friends were always adding to her misfortunes. The year 1576, again brought to light a great plan for a rescue. The hero of Lepanto, the chivalrous Don John of Austria, had early conceived an enthusiastic desire to liberate the martyr of the Catholic faith from the hands of the heretics. Rome gave him her blessing on a project so pleasing to God. Catholic Ireland hoped for a Spanish King. Mary offered him her hand, and was ready to deprive her son of his right to the throne, if he were not a

* Mignet, ii. 85, according to the correspondence of the French ambassador, La Mothe.—Fencelon, v. 122.

strict Catholic. Things were more favourable to Mary in Scotland than ever, since her most dangerous enemies, Moray and Lennox, were out of the way ; in short, if the new Stadtholder of the Netherlands could reckon upon his brother Philip II., if he threw all his power into the scale in favour of the plan, there would be a prospect of an immense change throughout the north. But Philip II. hesitated and the favourable moment passed by.

This state of secret warfare continued for years. There was no end to the conspiracies and schemes of invasion ; the Spanish Ambassador, Mendoza, in London, held the threads of them all ; there was increasing prospect of their success from the increasing excitement in Scotland, the successes of the Guises in France, the conquests of Alexander Farnese, won partly by the sword and partly by diplomacy ; everything pointed to an open breach with Spain, which at length took place. Elizabeth dismissed the Spanish ambassador, concluded a treaty with the Netherlands, and dispatched Leicester with English troops to Vliessingen, and Francis Drake to the West Indies, 1585-6. England's part in the great conflict of the age was irrevocably decided on, and sentence passed upon Mary Stuart.

TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF MARY STUART, 1586-7.

These acts of Elizabeth gave tardy expression to the prevailing feeling of the whole of Protestant England. Amidst continued threats of the disturbance of the public peace, the fanaticism of the age, the desire for religious persecution was again awakened ; the people trembled for the Queen's life, for it was the security of all Protestants against Spanish tyranny, rejoiced at the execution of the traitors, and were always urging more decisive measures. Parliament was the organ of these sentiments, and required

rather the curb than the spur ; Elizabeth had much trouble in restraining its zeal.

But the situation, especially after the beginning of the eighth decade, had become so gloomy that it would have been intolerable for long.

The threads of some conspiracy were discovered almost every year, always originating with the same parties and having the same end in view—the liberation of Mary, the assassination of Elizabeth, and the restoration of Catholicism in England.

No end to all this could be foreseen, for since 1570 there had been seminaries in Rheims and Rome established by emigrant English Catholics in the interests of the conspiracies against the Protestant Queen ; they bound themselves by oath against her, and every year sent a number of fanatical apostles over to the country. Parliament issued stringent decrees, the courts passed sentences without mercy, but they could not uproot the evil. In 1585, Parliament threatened that if another conspiracy were formed, the nation would be justified in striking a blow at the chief author of the mischief, when the last plot was discovered, which made Mary's catastrophe inevitable.

Philip II. and the Duke of Guise were of opinion that the time was come for gravely entertaining the long-projected, but oft-delayed, scheme of invading England and effecting a revolution in Scotland ; but they agreed that there was no hope of success while Elizabeth was living. The murder of the heretical Queen must precede every invasion of the country.

In the circles of the rejected priests and the Catholic nobility, they had long been familiar with the idea, and relied on the support from abroad which Spain and Rome seemed likely to offer.

John Savage, formerly an officer who had fought under Parma in the Netherlands, and had afterwards been persuaded in the seminary at Rheims that the murder of Elizabeth would be a work more pleasing to God and man than any other, and Anthony Babington, an influential gentleman, undertook the conduct of the plot. The latter took a considerable number of persons of the same way of thinking into his confidence, and Mary Stuart, now under the care of a harsh Puritan named Paulet, was initiated into the scheme. It has been proved that she was not only acquainted with the details of the project for her own rescue, but with the scheme for Elizabeth's assassination, and that she had no more objection to the one than the other. It is singular that the conspirators, who must have known how much they were risking, were deceived as to the trustworthiness of their confidential agents. Those who were intrusted with the most secret commissions were in the pay of Walsingham, the most shrewd and wily of Elizabeth's ministers; not a despatch was written by Babington or Mary, which was not at once handed over to him and deciphered by one of his agents. Walsingham was earlier and better instructed in all the details than the conspirators themselves, and it would have been easy for him to stifle the plot in the bud; but his plan was to let it go on until there were written proofs of unpardonable complicity against all, and especially against Mary, and then to step in.* It may be said that under his fostering care the conspiracy assumed larger proportions, the audacity of the authors of it increased, and all was so arranged that nothing was wanting but the attack and the thrust of a dagger, to put an end to Elizabeth's life, when Walsingham appeared before her with irrefragable proofs, and urged

* Mignet, ii. 157.

those in power to take extreme measures to avert the catastrophe.

The heads of the conspiracy fell unsuspectingly into the hands of his myrmidons, and, overpowered by the proofs of their guilt, they confessed, and in September, 1586, were one and all executed.

On the 14th of October the trial of Mary Stuart began. The act of Parliament of 1585 was taken as the basis of the proceedings whereby persons in whose favour a rebellion was attempted, by whom any attempt was made on the life of the Queen should be deprived of their rights, and if they had personally taken part in it should forfeit their lives. This already pronounced sentence of death on Mary; and if it had depended on the nation alone, it would have been confirmed by an overwhelming majority.

The popular conception of the case was simply this: England had enjoyed years of peace and quiet under a happy and prosperous reign; then a band of assassins and conspirators, equal to any wickedness, had invaded the country, seeking to overthrow the government, to place a guilty woman on the throne, and to give England up to the Spaniards and Jesuits. For eighteen years war had been waged with these rebels; proofs of their guilt were now in hand and the leaders secured; the heads of the instruments had been struck off, as a matter of course the instigator must share the same fate.

When the catastrophe was inevitable, Mary behaved with more coolness and composure than she had ever done before; and this explains the fact that so many dark spots have been overlooked in the life of this unhappy woman. She rejected a trial, did not at first defend herself at all, insisted upon her rank as Queen, with the emphasis of a Stuart, and played with great dignity the part of an inno-

cent person dying for her faith and her right to the crown. The proceedings were informal, and showed that it was less a case of a legal sentence than an act of political necessity.

It was, in fact, as Robespierre said of the trial of Louis XVI., "*une mesure de salut public à prendre.*"

Elizabeth was not indifferent as to what the world would say of her conduct; and would have fain appeared as the magnanimous person who would have given anything to save Mary, but was compelled by the nation to let the law take its course. But she could not keep up this appearance, if she gave her consent to the execution of the sentence. It would have been a great relief to her if Mary had been secretly put out of the way; it would have delivered her from her rival without loading her with the world's hatred. There is no doubt that she expressed herself cautiously and in a double-tongued way about the execution of the sentence, thereby betraying how gladly she would have shifted the responsibility to another. The secretary, Davison, was selected for this part, and he was not a virtuous hero. Elizabeth signed the warrant, but he had to affix the great seal. This done, on the 8th of February, 1587, the Council had the sentence executed. Because Elizabeth had not been again consulted about it just at the last, as was customary, she thought herself justified in punishing the obedient Davison as the guilty person. He was thrown into prison, and paid the penalty for the double-tonguedness of his Queen by years of captivity.

THE SPANISH ARMADA, 1588, AND ELIZABETH'S LAST DAYS.

The violent agitation of the Queen on receiving intelligence of the execution of the sentence may be taken for

genuine, consistently with the supposition that after this transient emotion there would be a permanent feeling of relief that the mountain of anxiety which had weighed upon herself and her country for twenty years was removed.

After February, 1587, no conspiracy was formed worth mentioning; the instigator of the plots was gone, and if ever an act was justified by its results, it was so in this instance. The people of England, with the exception of a few Catholic noblemen, were in favour of Queen Mary's death; the news of it was received with general rejoicings, and whatever of bitter feeling there might be, was soon swallowed up in the terrors of the period which immediately followed. It was a piece of rare good fortune for Elizabeth that an event which had long been threatened now took place, and justified the extreme measures which had caused her so much anguish; a great attack upon the island was preparing by Spain, which would have cut a different figure had Mary been still living.

Spain was equipping an immense fleet which was to repeat the feat of William the Conqueror, to extinguish the independence of England and its Protestantism, and at the same time carry out Mary's will. Elizabeth appeared so great, so superior, so equal to the people's expectations in this contest, that, in their eyes, all that was connected with Mary fell into the shade, and Elizabeth's character appeared in the brightest colours; the time of her historical greatness begins in this conflict with Philip II., "the shield of the Christian republic," as the Jesuits called him.

In a masterly manner Elizabeth took advantage of those national sentiments, before which even religious differences vanished. The English nation, with all that it held dear, was threatened with a fearful irruption of foreign barbarism; Elizabeth felt herself to be one with the people, and could

therefore reckon upon its best powers and most noble passions.

Pope Sixtus V. had excommunicated her, and commissioned Philip II. to execute the sentence : a hundred and fifty great ships of war, with 2,620 guns, 8,000 seamen, and 20,000 troops were embarking from Lisbon, and Alexander of Parma was preparing for a diversion in the Netherlands. The Pope had contributed half a million, and a number of priests and monks who were at once to begin the task of converting the heretics.

Elizabeth was never greater than at the time of this terrible danger, and in the eyes of the world it relieved her from the obloquy of the deed of 1587. She was now the Queen whom England wanted, and for whom she had hoped. She showed that she had, as she told the Spanish ambassador, the body of a woman, but the heart of a man.

In the circles of the Protestant zealots, a scheme had been formed of replying to the declaration of war of the foreign Catholic Powers, by a bloody execution of the native Catholics ; but Elizabeth refused to listen to it. She appealed to the patriotism of the whole nation, irrespective of difference of creed, and she was not disappointed. The expectation of the allies of the co-operation of Scotland proved false. The young King James had, indeed, bitterly felt the death of his unfortunate mother, but he regarded Elizabeth as a protection against Spain, and therefore joined her cause.

France remained inactive, and Alexander of Parma was not ready, so that the prospects of the great enterprise were less favourable from the first than had been anticipated.

Meanwhile, Elizabeth called her people to arms. It was the first attempt by a government to rely on the defensive powers of its own people and to await the attack of a great military power without trained soldiers. It succeeded

beyond all expectation. The country people rivalled the great towns, with London at their head.

In a short time two hundred ships were manned by 15,700 sailors, and in the counties, the nobles, both Protestant and Catholic, with their tenants and vassals, took up arms in accordance with ancient usage ; 76,000 infantry, and 3,000 horsemen were soon ready for the conflict. The coasts were fortified, voluntary contributions flowed in from all sides. The people did all they could for the national cause, with the Queen at their head.

It was a proud moment, one which a nation only lives through once in its history, when Elizabeth, an Amazon in armour, appeared, in the camp at Tilbury, and thus addressed the soldiers as they stood in rank and file :—" Let tyrants fear. I have always so behaved myself that, under God, I have placed my chiefest strength and safeguard in the loyal hearts and good-will of my subjects, and therefore I am come amongst you, as you see by this time, not for my own recreation or disport, but being resolved in the midst and heat of the battle to live or die amongst you all ; to lay down for my God and for my kingdoms, and for my people my honour and my blood, even in the dust. I know I have the body but of a weak and feeble woman, but I have the heart and stomach of a king, and of a king of England too ; and think foul scorn that Parma, or Spain, or any prince of Europe should dare to invade the borders of my realm to which, rather than any dishonour shall grow by me, I myself will take up arms ; I myself will be your general judge, and rewarder of every one of your virtues in the field."

The dreaded conflict on English soil did not take place. Destiny interposed, but the events and impressions of this time formed an epoch for England. The enthusiasm called forth by them was not easily forgotten.

The Spanish ships were colossal and unwieldy. They had not the lightness of the little English vessels, nor the sailors the naval training of those of England. The fleet which embarked from Lisbon on May 30th, 1588, encountered storms on the way, and was involved in a number of minor engagements in the Channel, which, though not equal to a single real naval battle, sorely pressed the already damaged fleet, so that a retreat had to be contemplated instead of a landing. Storms did the rest, and before Parma could set out, the Armada was in such a condition that the remnant of it could scarcely reach the Spanish harbours.

The fate of this invincible Armada was an event of world-wide interest. The remains of Spanish power and prosperity sank with it in the waves, and in England, now the victorious bulwark of religious liberty, a new development began. England had found her element, soon to rule in it as a great power.

Now began the great maritime development of this country. The time of voyages of conquest and discovery, when Drake, Raleigh, Howard, and Frobisher gave importance to the English naval power, and colonial possessions were acquired in the East Indies and America. The foundations were laid of the greatness which was to develop itself during the next two centuries. Commercial enterprise, protected by a powerful fleet and fostered by wealthy colonies in the east and west, was greatly extended. It is, therefore, perfectly intelligible that Elizabeth's reign, and especially the latter part of it, should be regarded by Englishmen as the most prosperous period of their history. Fruitless laurels, and severe internal crises had been the results of the French conquests of Edward III., while the naval wars of Elizabeth introduced England into her own element, and opened up the natural sources of her power,

so that her internal prosperity and external importance were developed simultaneously.

For this reason the English are accustomed to associate the rise of their greatness with this victory of Protestantism, and it explains the Protestant hue which the English nation has assumed since the sixteenth century.

Seldom has a reign closed so peacefully after long storms as that of Elizabeth (April, 1603), and when we compare the succeeding period, we cannot fail to be struck with the skill with which she adjusted those differences between regal and popular rights by which the country was so convulsed in the following decades.

This was partly the result of the gravity of a situation before which all minor differences vanished. Still, Elizabeth had a large share in it. Her government was very economical and well administered. Seldom had a ruler under difficult circumstances contrived so skilfully to avoid imposing unusual burdens on the people. Then she was prudent and dexterous in her way of going to work.

She held those sentiments of absolutism and regal power which belonged to all the Tudors, but she never challenged opposition to them by boasting, and took good care never to agitate the momentous question of the limits of monarchical and parliamentary rights. She well knew that their relations were ill-defined, and thought it prudent never to let them become matter of dispute.

But all this was changed immediately after her death. During the next reign there was not a trace of greatness in the government. Blunders, mishaps, and violent dispute about the rights of Parliament and the crown were the order of the day.

PART XIII.

THE REVOLUTION AND REPUBLIC IN ENGLAND.

CHAPTER XLIII.

JAMES I., 1603-25.*

Character of the Monarch and unfavourable beginning of his reign.—The Gunpowder Plot, November, 1605.—The Contests of 1621.—Trial of Lord Bacon of Verulam.—The Question of taking part in the Bohemian-Palatinate War.—The Difficulties of Parliament.—Address of November, 1621, and Dissolution of Parliament.—The Spanish Marriage Scheme. Buckingham and the Prince of Wales.—Change in the Policy of England.—The Parliament of 1624.—Death of James, April, 1625.

CHARACTER OF JAMES I., AND UNFAVOURABLE BEGINNING OF HIS REIGN.

IT was universally admitted that Mary's son would be Elizabeth's successor before her death. Mary's right was indisputably established through him.

* Besides the before-mentioned literature :—*Annals of King James I. and Charles I.*, 1681. *Wilson's History of Great Britain*, 1653. *Sidney, Letters and Memorials*, 1746. *Clarendon's History of the Rebellion*, 1702. *Memorials of Whitelock*, 1732. *Clarendon State Papers*. *Rushworth*, London, 1682; *Thurloe*, 1742, and the *Parliamentary Debates*. Compare *Guizot, Collection des Mémoires relatives à l'Histoire de la Révolution d'Angleterre*, Paris, 1823, 28 vols.; *Guizot, Histoire de Charles I.*, 6th ed. 1856; *On Cromwell*; besides the biographies of *Leti*, 1692; *Villemain*, 1819; and *Merle d'Aubigné*.

James VI. of Scotland and I. of England was the issue of the stormy marriage of Mary and Darnley, and he was born not long after the murder of Rizzio. He was two years old when his mother escaped to England, and then had for years been tossed hither and thither between the leaders of the Scotch nobility. He had not given any evidence of ability as ruler of Scotland. Awkward and unkingly in person, manners, and tastes, he had with difficulty maintained his position among the parties which were tearing Scotland in pieces, and the main inheritance of this period of perpetual warfare was an irritability about his royal rights, occasioned by the systematic attacks of the rigid Presbyterians. He had not attempted any interference abroad; he had even allowed his mother to die without any vigorous effort to avert her fate. It was mainly owing to his inaction and indifference that her hopes that Scotland would take up her cause were not fulfilled. The succession to the English crown was nearer to his heart than his mother's execution.*

When, in July, 1603, he proceeded amidst the rejoicing of the people from Edinburgh to London, he entered upon an inheritance greater in extent than had been possessed by any king before him. England, Ireland, and Scotland were, for the first time, united under one sceptre; although it was not an amalgamation of the three empires, their union considerably increased the power of the common ruler.

In this respect, the power which Elizabeth had inherited was thrown into the shade; but his character made it by

Carlyle, *Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell*, 1845-57. Guizot, *Histoire de la République d'Angleterre*, 1854. The same, *Histoire du Protectorat de Richard Cromwell*, 1855. For a critique on the source see Ranke's *Engl. Geschichte*, vol. vii.

* Mignet.

means likely that he would eclipse the brilliance of her reign. While Elizabeth frequently displayed masculine powers, it is often difficult to remember in James's case that we are in the presence of a man, the impression he made was so thoroughly effeminate.

He was not wanting in acquirements and cultivation; indeed, he might almost be called learned. He had taken part in the theological controversies then agitated in Scotland, and had now and then appeared as an author. He brought to the throne the petty literary vanity of a pedant; and this, as we have seen in the case of Henry VIII., is always a misfortune.

There was nothing in his character to inspire confidence or respect. His want of manliness, timorousness, and supineness in great things and small, his awkward shiftlessness, the plebeian vulgarity of his manners and mode of life, his occupation with trifles and childish whims, all contributed to give the impression of a person whom no one could esteem or had any cause to fear.

And with all this obvious weakness of mind and body were united prejudices about regal sovereignty which almost amounted to insanity. From these unkingly lips were heard sayings about absolute power and the unlimited rights of the crown which would scarcely have beseemed personages like Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, and in his case they were simply ridiculous.

James I. was a fanatical doctrinaire of absolute monarchy; he had adopted as an article of faith the doctrine that the king was a second Providence upon earth, that all popular privileges were only favours granted by the throne, a doctrine which may have the most mischievous results to a weak head. His political wisdom consisted in boasting of these ideas.

In spite of their Magna Charta and their Parliament, the English were not accustomed to overmuch liberty : the Tudors had taught them to obey in a way which showed what a strong will might accomplish even with constitutional forms. Even Elizabeth had governed exactly as she pleased, though her manner of doing so was less severe ; but she had never established as a doctrine, what the nation had submitted to in fact, nor attempted to settle the controversy as to their respective powers.

The rejoicings with which the beginning of James's reign was greeted soon gave place to general discontent. Under Elizabeth the people had been used to an economical, conscientious government ; but now a careless and easy method of management was introduced, which was very expensive, and soon brought the finances into confusion. The people were exasperated by a swarm of Scotch place-hunters and assuming royal favourites. Elizabeth had had her favourites also, but they had not been expensive to the State ; while those who helped King James to while away his time, consumed large sums of money, and were a disgrace to the crown.

The complaints about the rapacity of the Scotch, who "eat up the country like canker worms," were soon so loud, that the worst results might be anticipated.

Then his position with respect to the ecclesiastical question was doubtful, though this was less his fault than the result of the whole situation.

He was the son of a zealous Catholic, whose death had been regarded as a courageous martyrdom for her faith ; he hated the Presbyterians, who wanted to set up an independent ecclesiastical community in opposition to him. The English Catholics therefore hoped that he would honour his mother's memory, and grant them more liberty. He ha

even given them secret promises to this effect ; but his subsequent actions were not in accordance with them. He had a certain liking for the Roman Catholic Church, and was awed by episcopal authority ; but then it must be for his benefit, not that of his subjects. He had not the least idea of making greater concessions to the Catholics ; on the contrary, he made their position more painful, for which they recompensed him with mortal hatred.

The remnants of the party of the old conspirators, united with other persons, irritated by real or imaginary neglect, in forming a plan of horrible revenge.

They resolved to fill the cellars under the Houses of Parliament with gunpowder, and on the day of the opening of Parliament to blow up the whole of official England by one stroke, the royal family, the ministers, and the Upper and Lower House. It was an evidence of what deeds the party which had lost its leader in Mary was capable.

The scheme was ready for execution, when a Catholic lord, who had a brother-in-law among the accomplices, received a warning letter, in which it was said, among other things, "Though there be no appearance of any stir, yet I say they shall receive a terrible blow this Parliament, and yet they shall not see who hurts them."

The letter was communicated to the King, who was in perpetual fear of attempts on his life, and always appeared in a panoply of thick clothes, and he at once suspected gunpowder. The day before the opening of Parliament the cellars were searched, and one of the conspirators was found amongst the barrels employed in making the final preparations, and with a cheerful countenance he avowed his *Christian* project.

It need not be said that this affair made an immense sensation, and stirred up all the ecclesiastical hatred which had

been raging in the country for more than half a century. Parliament, composed of members elected more freely than formerly, gave expression to it in severe laws against the Catholics. King James, on the whole, maintained a position between the two parties. He was more severe to the Puritans than Elizabeth, and the Dissenters called him a secret Catholic; for in all cases of dispute he betrayed far more liking for the Catholic hierarchy than for the independent and rebellious spirit of the Protestants in and out of England. Still, he would have liked to get rid of the Pope and his connection with the Catholic powers.

James was not the man to talk of the divine right of kings; a monarch who was afraid of his Parliament should not have defied and threatened it, for he was always wanting money, and could not dispense with its aid. Yet what language did he not venture to use!

In the King's speech from the throne, in 1609, were the memorable words, "God hath power to create or destroy, to make or unmake at his pleasure, to give life or to send death; and to God both body and soul are due. And the like power have kings: they make and unmake their subjects; they have power of raising and casting down, of life and of death—judges over all their subjects, and in all causes, and yet accountable to none but God only. They have power to exalt low things, and abase high things, and make their subjects like men of chess: a pawn to take a bishop or a knight, and to cry up or down any of their subjects as they do their money."

Even to doubt the correctness of this doctrine he considered to be blasphemy and revolution; and all this from a man who could not see a sword without shuddering.

There could not have been a better method of bringing the delicate question of the relations between the King and

people to an issue, and of compelling the people's representatives to settle what was in their power, and what in the King's, than by these blasphemous speeches.

And nowhere was this question more eagerly discussed than on English soil. If there were chartered, and what is more, exercised popular rights, it was in England. The mode in which they were exercised had undoubtedly always taken the colour of the age, and there was a certain oscillation according as the character of the sovereign or the force of circumstances turned the scale. What had not Henry VIII. and Elizabeth succeeded in accomplishing without Parliament, and on the other hand how the kings had to submit to it during the civil wars! Nevertheless under the Tudors, three principles were acknowledged to be in force—that new laws could not be enacted, nor new taxes imposed without the consent of Parliament, and that the responsible advisers of the crown might be called to account by Parliament. These rules were thoroughly established in the sixteenth century. Henry VIII. had promulgated all ecclesiastical laws through Parliament, and Edward VI. and Elizabeth had done the same. The Crown had often thrown the responsibility of its acts upon the ministers, in order to get rid of the odium attaching to them, and so culpable ministers and corrupt counsellors were continually summoned before Parliament. Even the principle of the consent of Parliament to taxation had never been a subject of dispute.

In short, to a certain extent royal and popular rights had comported well together, but this good understanding had mainly depended on the dexterity of the leading personages. But that an extravagant government like James's, which wounded the susceptibilities of the great parties, and with a most corrupt financial system, proclaimed its intention of

upsetting the usages of public law, would soon put an end to the loyalty of Parliament was as clear as could be, especially as it was irritated by the perpetual demands of the Crown for money.

A circumstance not in itself important, but momentous in its results, gave rise to the conflict.

THE CONFLICT OF 1621.

In order to raise money the Crown resorted to all sorts of devices, not exactly illegal, but sordid and corrupt. Besides a shameless trade in patents of nobility, which were a disgrace both to the government and the aristocracy, an abuse respecting monopolies had sprung up which was a decided injury to the prosperity of the nation. The Crown—even Elizabeth did not disdain to do it—sold the sole right to trade in certain articles to companies or individuals. As is well known, this system is condemned both by reason and experience; but it was never carried on more recklessly than under James I., who in money matters, openly avowed himself to be a sick man urgently needing medical aid. This abuse had frequently been discussed in Parliament, but complaints against it had always been in vain; now, however, a new and worse abuse suddenly came to light.

The Lord Chancellor of England, Lord Bacon, one of the foremost thinkers of all times, sold not only monopolies but judicial sentences, thus making a prostitute of justice. The evidence against him was so conclusive, that he gave up all attempt at defence and confessed his guilt in abject terms. It cuts one to the heart to read the letter addressed to Parliament in April, 1620, by a man of sixty years of age, the first minister of the Crown and a European celebrity. It begins with the words :—

"Upon advised consideration of the charge, descending into my own conscience, and calling my memory to account as far as I am able, I do plainly and ingenuously confess that I am guilty of corruption, and do renounce all defence and put myself on the grace and mercy of your lordships."

He then reckons up twenty-three cases in which, contrary to his oath and duty, he had received from parties for monopolies, sums of £50, £100, £200, £400, &c.*

This business was of the greatest importance to England. The disgraceful acts of the Lord Chancellor were only symptomatic of a whole system of corruption. This trial of the first minister of the Crown, which was gone into with great minuteness in Parliament, affected the crown as well as the accused, the sentence against him was a condemnation of the government; the people began to suspect that the whole administration was corrupt. It was a great success for Parliament to have deprived the arrogant King of his minister.

Another event now took place, which put the finishing stroke to the embitterment of the nation.

On the 24th of March, 1613, James's daughter, Elizabeth, had married the Elector Frederick of the Palatinate, amidst the rejoicings of the people. Frederick was greeted as the head of the German Union, and the marriage as the connection of England with German Protestantism. Then came his election as King of Poland, the defeat of Prague, the downfall of the winter-kingdom; and James I. left his son-in-law, now wandering homeless about Germany, in the lurch, and made no appeal to Parliament for money, while there was yet time. Instead of helping the unhappy Count Palatine and his daughter, he scolded the rebels and the

* Cobbett, Parliamentary History.

Usurper, and formed the project of marrying the Prince of Wales to the Spanish Infanta.

A commercial nation is never disposed to go to war for remote considerations, but this war lay near the hearts of the English ; it was a struggle against the restoration of Catholicism which was achieving great successes, it was a question of the support of the cause for which England herself had sustained severe trials ; this temperate peaceful nation was more eager for war than ever before. But James held back, not from weakness alone, but partly from legitimist scruples. His son-in-law was rebelling against the divine authority of the Emperor Ferdinand with whose Spanish relations he was just negotiating a marriage, and not with much success.

For the usurped Crown of Bohemia, therefore, James would on no account do anything ; but for the Palatinate, on the contrary, he declared with great emphasis that he would do all in his power.

When in January, 1621, he asked Parliament for money to protect the rights of his grandchildren in the Palatinate, and to help the good cause of liberty of conscience, he found a readiness which he had never met with before, but complaints of the great domestic grievances were now first seriously urged. Parliament was still sitting, and Bacon's impeachment keeping every one in suspense, when news came of the progress of Catholic restoration in Bohemia and Austria ; the new dangers of the Huguenots in France, and the Protestants in the Netherlands, but notwithstanding the supplies granted by Parliament, James did nothing but make feeble declarations and diplomatic protests.

To the discontent with the failings of the administration, was now added irritation, occasioned by the weakness of the foreign policy of the government. The Lower House,

took upon itself for the first time to discuss foreign affairs : the war on the Continent and the errors of the government on a great European question. It was as yet a long way from revolution, but it was the first step towards it.

The King accused Parliament of going beyond its privileges, and prorogued it. Previous usage certainly justified this course, but the nation could not be blamed for making itself heard on so vital a question. For forty years and more it had had a bitter feud with Spain, Hapsburg, and Rome. All the plots against Elizabeth—the war during the eighth decade ; the invincible Armada ; the gunpowder plot—had a common source ; the nation's eagerness for war arose from a justifiable anxiety as to the effect which a victory of their mortal enemy on the Continent might have upon the liberties, political and religious, of their island empire.

When Parliament re-assembled in November, 1621, these sentiments were still more strongly expressed. The important question whether Parliament had a right to arraign the foreign policy of the government, pressed for a decision. The King again asked for money, not really to make war, but to continue the demonstrations which had made him the laughing-stock of Europe. Parliament would only grant it on condition that the King would give up the Spanish marriage ; break up his alliances irrevocably with the Catholic powers ; proceed with severity against the Catholics, and finally draw the sword in the Protestant cause.

These proposals were made to the King in an address, at that time of an unprecedented kind. A special complaint was added about the arrest of members of Parliament.

The King replied in a defiant letter to the Speaker, reproaching the House for meddling with things above their reach and capacity, forbade them to interfere with his

government or in deep matters of state, and especially in the marriage of his son with the Infanta of Spain ; and he finally declared that in cases of impropriety of conduct of members of Parliament, either in the House or out of it, he must reserve the right of punishing them.*

This letter was intended to intimidate the Commons, but it rather acted as a challenge. One of the members expressed the feeling of the House when he said, "Our liberties are our freehold, and the fairest flower that groweth in the garden of the Commons, and if they be once nipped they will never grow again."†

The house insisted on liberty of speech as an ancient and inviolable right, and the King sent them another letter on the 16th of December, in which he said that he would not hear of rights and inherited claims, the House enjoyed certain privileges by the grace and favour of the King and his predecessors, not by inheritance but toleration.

It is never the true interest of a government to agitate the question of existing and recognised rights. It is always a delicate one and was particularly so in England. Four hundred years had elapsed since Magna Charta was granted, and it did not contain everything that was now English law ; but the Englishman was accustomed to connect his rights with this treaty, and to talk to him of favours and concessions that might be withdrawn, was to put the people's notions of right to a severe test. To maintain that no rights exist except such as are conferred by the favour of the Crown is never conducive to the true dignity of royalty. It is not willingly borne from a powerful ruler ; Louis XIV. and greater men than he, were never forgiven for saying

* Cobbett. Immunity from arrest was granted, "eundo, sedendo, redeundo."

† Cobbett.

that the ruler was the state and *vice versa*, and a feeble and effeminate King should never have adopted such language.

Parliament did not long keep him waiting for an answer. On the 18th of December, the royal declaration was followed by a declaration of Parliament, which stated that "the liberties, franchises, privileges, and jurisdictions of Parliament are the ancient and undoubted birthright and inheritance of the subjects of England, and the making and maintenance of laws, and redress of mischiefs and grievances, which daily happen within this realm, are proper subjects and matter of counsel and debate in Parliament, and that in the handling and proceeding of those businesses, every member of the House hath, and of right ought to have, freedom of speech to propound, treat, reason, and bring to conclusion the same: that the Commons in Parliament have like liberty and freedom to propound, treat, reason, and bring to conclusion the same: that the Commons in Parliament have like liberty and freedom to treat of these matters in such order as in their judgments shall seem fittest, and that every such member of the said House hath like freedom from all impeachment, imprisonment, and molestation (other than by the censure of the House itself), for or concerning any bill, speaking, reasoning, or declaring of any matter or matters touching the Parliament or Parliament business; and that if any of the said members be complained of, and questioned for anything said or done in Parliament, the same is to be showed to the King, by the advice and assent of all the Commons assembled in Parliament, before the King give credence to any private information." *

The first collision between absolute and constitutional

* Cobbett, i. 1362.

monarchy had taken place at a time when the first only seemed to have any prospect of existence. Unlimited royal power had everywhere gained the ascendancy, partly in connection with, partly in opposition to the Reformation. In Spain, Italy, and Austria, the Inquisition had helped to establish ecclesiastical and temporal absolutism, in the Protestant German states, and the Scandinavian countries, on the contrary, the fall of a powerful state Church had raised a powerless monarchy to dignity and importance; in France, the first strong government which extricated the country from the confusion of the religious wars, allowed the ancient States-General to fall quietly into oblivion; nowhere were voices raised like those in England.

The conflict which arose in England in 1621, was in itself an anomaly in the universal tendencies of the age; but the protest of Parliament was the announcement of a spirit diametrically opposed to traditionary usage.

King James was furious. He immediately went to London, went down to the House with his privy councillor, summoned the secretary with the journal book, with his own hand tore out the protest, and had his own motion inserted in its place. The House was then dissolved, the chief leaders of the opposition committed to prison; others, like John Savill, taken into the King's service.

This mode of action laid bare the weakness of a King who imagined he could annihilate with a leaf out of the journal book what could not be erased from history, nor from the hearts of the people.

A contest had begun which was not to end till the throne of the Stuarts was in ruins.

THE SPANISH MARRIAGE.—BUCKINGHAM AND THE PRINCE OF WALES.—CHANGE OF ENGLISH POLICY.—DEATH OF JAMES, 1625.

Meanwhile, the King was overwhelmed with complications on the Continent. He had asked Parliament for money to save at least the Count-Palatine's hereditary possessions, but by failing to fulfil his promises he had caused the unfortunate Elector to lose even them. The Emperor had dethroned him and made over the vacant dignity to Bavaria. The English nation was deeply affected by this blow. The King had acted throughout the whole transaction with incredible weakness and want of character, and as we now see by the despatches, had also been disgracefully deceived, together with the English nation, who regarded the cause of the Palatinate as their own.

James's weakness in this business was connected with a favourite scheme, which he did not give up till he had drunk the cup of ignominy to the dregs. His reverence for the family politics of the Hapsburgs, their method of governing, and their conception of sovereign dignity, led to an eager desire to unite his dynasty with theirs by a marriage, and in the success of this project, which after the events of 1587-8 was quite unlikely to be fulfilled, he saw, curiously enough, a solution of all the difficulties which encompassed him. He hoped for weighty support in Spain against his obstreperous Parliament. Spain was to spare him from drawing the sword by helping him in the Palatinate, and the price, without which it appeared as if the alliance was not to be had, toleration of the Catholics; and abolition of the strict parliamentary laws would have furnished him with a check upon the Puritans.

The negotiations dragged on for years. James would

not bind himself without distinct promises from Spain, and Spain, with a clearer conception of the divergence between the two states, wished, at all events, to assure herself of the one advantage that England should not take an active part in the war. So the business came to a standstill.

The King and his favourite, Buckingham, then devised what they thought a most ingenious plan of breaking through the meshes of diplomacy. The King had himself, in his youthful days, carried off his bride under difficulties, and he should not his son do the same, in true chivalrous fashion.

In the deepest secrecy the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Buckingham set sail for Spain, and appeared at Madrid on 7th March, 1623.

During this singular wooing, which, according to the strict forms of Spanish etiquette could only be carried on at a distance, the negotiations as to the conditions of an agreement assumed a more serious character. In order to gain Spain over, King James allowed a liberty to the Catholics in England which filled the Protestants with alarm; but Spain was anything but complaisant, and would not agree to the restoration of the Elector Palatine, which with James was the main point. Besides this, Buckingham had a personal quarrel with the representative of this policy, Count Olivarez, and so he persuaded the Prince to a sudden departure.

Buckingham had conducted the whole business with the frivolity of a vain courtier: the report which he now gave of it was made up of lies which found no credence, and truths which proved nothing. It was not then known in London how far Spain had decided to go with the German Hapsburgs, and the future attitude of England towards Spain was very doubtful. It depended on the decision of

the King, or the effects of the report of the irritated Buckingham.

But the Parliament of 1624 consented with undisguised pleasure to the communications, which showed that the government was at length giving up this unnatural plan. It agreed to all that Buckingham proposed against Spain; and as the King gave way on several old subjects of dispute, an understanding now took place between the Crown and Parliament which three years before would have seemed impossible.

The King's policy underwent an entire revolution. Instead of a Spanish Infanta, he now desired a French Princess as a daughter-in-law. Instead of an alliance with the Hapsburgs, he now sought to ally himself with their opponents; instead of repulsing Parliament with Stuart haughtiness, he now made advances to it, and agreed with it on all questions, foreign and domestic.

In December, 1624, the marriage treaty was agreed upon between his son and the Princess Henrietta Maria of France. James now entered into the war for the restoration of the Elector Palatine with an unlooked-for zeal, and was preparing for decisive action, when, on the 27th of March, 1625, he died.

CHAPTER XLIV.

Charles I., 1625-49.—His Character.—The first two Parliaments, 1625-26.—The War with Spain and France.—The third and last Parliament.—The Petition of Right, 1628-9.—Charles I. without a Parliament.—The Earl of Strafford.—Archbishop Laud.—The Star Chamber.—The High Commission.—Ship Money, 1634.—John Hampden's Trial, 1637.

CHARACTER OF CHARLES I.—THE FIRST TWO PARLIAMENTS.—THE WAR WITH SPAIN AND FRANCE.

JAMES I. was succeeded by his son Charles I., born 1600. His entrance into public life had not been very promising. He had allowed himself to be made a tool of in the Spanish marriage affair, and had covered the untruths of Buckingham's report with the shield of his name. He was, however, a different man from his father. He possessed considerable ability, was well educated, had a talent for shrewd observation, and indisputable adroitness in managing men and things. His characteristics were of that distinguished, winning, yet dignified kind which we consider to belong to a born prince. His appearance was kingly and commanding, and he had nothing of the studied haughtiness of his father, which contrasted so strangely with his slovenly exterior and plebeian habits. Even his enemies allowed that Charles was no common man in the days of his greatest misfortunes.

Without his father's bravado, he was much more daring in action. What to the one was but a flattering theory, was to the other the principle of his life. He was capable of staking his throne and his life on his principles. His father, with all his fine speeches, generally beat a retreat when things began to look serious. Not so his son; he staked everything till his crown and life were lost.

But he was less sincere and honest than his father, whose heart was on his tongue, and when his words and actions did not agree it was rather from weakness than insincerity. Charles knew how to control himself, weighed every word, concealed his thoughts, and was fond of tortuous paths. When he was most flattering and amiable it was necessary to be most on your guard against him. He held insincerity and faithlessness to be allowable in politics, but his home life was exemplary and amiable. A man with this courage and talent, these commanding, and at the same time seductive qualities, was a very different opponent from King James.

The King's first step was to summon a new Parliament, as was customary at the beginning of a reign. The themes of the congratulatory speeches were naturally the inheritance of the late King, the energetic prosecution of the Palatinate war, and the voting of the necessary subsidies. With this exception nothing can be more peaceable than these addresses and replies. Charles speaks with a winning openness and warmth which are quite inspiring. He expresses full confidence that Parliament will support the honour of its sovereign and his subjects, and assures them in writing that the maintenance of the faith of his fathers always has been, and always will be, sacred to him. Parliament replied in the same spirit. On June 22nd a motion was made for a good understanding between King and

Parliament, when Rudyard said that "the late distastes between the late King and Parliament were the chief cause of all the miseries of the kingdom, the first turn of which towards a reconciliation was given by the now King, then prince ; by which accrued more benefit to the subject than in any Parliament these many hundred years. What may we then expect from him being King, and having power in his own hands ? His good natural disposition, his freedom from vice ; his travels abroad ; his being bred in Parliaments, promised greatly. Therefore he moved to take such course now to sweeten all things between King and people that they may never afterwards disagree." *

But this frame of mind did not last long. When these ceremonials were over, it was plain to every one that there were questions on which the views of the two parties were by no means agreed, that the King wanted money, and when it was voted would dismiss Parliament in as friendly a manner as he had greeted it, and Parliament would by no means consent to be used simply for this purpose.

The Commons frustrated the King's tactics, which in themselves were unskilful. It was a more brilliant assembly than any that England had ever seen. The eminent men who afterwards appeared on one side or the other were all in this Parliament. It was one of unusual power, for it had been formed in the period of prosperity and independence, which was the result of Elizabeth's happy reign. The members were mostly wealthy landowners of independent position, and they had very little moral counterpoise in the House of Lords, because James and Charles had committed the great error of making it compliant, but despicable, by making peers of a whole batch of courtiers.

The Commons demanded, before proceeding to vote sub-

* Cobbett.

sidies, that certain grievances should be put an end to, particularly that a pledge should be given that the strict laws against the Catholics, who were supported by the Queen, should be enforced. A certain royal chaplain, Dr. Montague, had distinguished himself by attacks upon the Puritans, who were numerous represented in Parliament, and the Catholics were the zealous advocates of the Stuart doctrines of absolute royal power and the grace of God, which were abhorrent to the Puritans. It was on this subject that the first differences arose.

The religious fanaticism of the Puritans drove Charles, who was burning with impatience to begin the war, almost to despair. Instead of voting the needful subsidies, the Commons passed a law about the strict observance of the Sabbath, thundered against the Papacy, and petitioned for suspended Puritan preachers. Yet Parliament had consented to the war, and the King was loaded with the debts which his father had been compelled to incur on account of it. The doubtful manner in which Buckingham had employed the English ships had brought the enterprise into disrepute, and greatly increased the number of his personal enemies. The subsidies which Parliament at length granted were so small that the motion was looked upon as a vote of want of confidence, as was also the resolution to vote tonnage and poundage, the most lucrative source of the income of the Crown—it almost amounted to half—for one year only, instead of as formerly for the whole reign.

Parliament was prorogued, ostensibly because the plague rendered residence in London impossible, and convened again at Oxford, a loyal city; but the sentiments of the Lower House did not improve, although the King had several times urgently begged for speedy grants, in the

name of honour, security, and necessity. On the 25th of August, Parliament was dissolved, after a motion had with difficulty been passed in the Upper House voting tonnage and poundage for the whole reign.

In February, 1626, another Parliament was summoned. It met under the impression of an unfortunate expedition to Cadiz, which once more showed that, although the government was eager for war, it had no efficient soldiers. Former scenes were repeated, only increased bitterness was manifested on both sides. The keeper of the great seal, in his opening speech, spoke of the immeasurable distance between the sublime dignity and majesty of a mighty monarch, and the subjection and humility of loyal subjects, called the throne the source of all rights, and the laws the streams and rivulets by which they were conducted to subjects, &c. It seemed to the House as if they were listening to James I. again, only it was more serious, for the son was in earnest with what was mere nonsense with his father. Parliament was ready to grant higher, but still not sufficient subsidies, and not before the abolition of a long list of grievances which were a severe criticism on the whole administration. The Duke of Buckingham was even formally impeached; but with obvious defiance the King contrived that he should be appointed to the office of Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, just vacated. Parliament was ordered to give up the impeachment, and to grant the money at once on pain of being dissolved. He even threatened them with "new counsels." The threat was soon followed by execution, for Digges and Elliot, the chief accusers of the Duke, were thrown into prison; but Parliament interfered, and nothing being proved against them, the King was obliged to release them. Instead of intimidating the Commons, he had only produced

irritation and bitter feeling. In June, Parliament was dissolved, like the first, after it had solemnly protested against the illegal exaction of tonnage and poundage, and demanded the removal of the hated Buckingham.

The system of force now appeared openly from under the veil of half-friendly demands and threats, not so plainly as would doubtless have been the case had the King had an army to rely on, but still plainly enough.

Money it was necessary for the King to have at any price ; so, as Parliament refused it, he had recourse to a forced loan.

A Commission was instituted with full powers to raise it ; the Catholic party advised obedience from their pulpits and in printed sermons ; but the Puritans, who were the great majority of the nation, eagerly opposed it ; and in many places the loan was openly refused, with an appeal to ancient national laws. Those who refused were arrested, and the judges who would not pass sentence on them dismissed. The troops who had returned from the unfortunate expedition to Cadiz, were quartered on the contumacious to make them submit ; the support of the lawless soldiery was a new and heavy burden to the whole country. The war, too, which was to justify all these acts of violence, just now took an unfortunate turn.

On the occasion of suing for the hand of the Princess Henrietta Maria for his master, the frivolous Buckingham had dared to enter into an intrigue with the young Queen of France. This excited the anxiety of Richelieu, and when, through Louis XIII., he informed Buckingham that he must not show himself in France again, Buckingham vowed revenge, and persuaded his master to declare war against France, though they were still at war with Spain. With one hundred ships and seven thousand men, Buckingham

went to the help of the Huguenots, in La Rochelle, but conducted the enterprise with so absurd a want of skill, that after the loss of two-thirds of his troops he had to return without accomplishing his purpose, covered with shame and disgrace. October, 1627, La Rochelle was lost; English commerce suffered severely in the war; British ships were seized; the foolish enterprise was cursed in every home; and deep and general discontent prevailed throughout the country.

THE THIRD AND THE LAST PARLIAMENT, 1628-29.—THE
PETITION OF RIGHT.

Since the dissolution of the last Parliament, the Crown had been getting on as badly as possible. The war, which the King repeatedly, and from conviction, declared to be a matter of honour for himself and his people, had brought nothing but loss and disgrace; and the forced loan had sown deep hatred amongst the people, without removing his embarrassments. The scanty results of the forced loan were drained to the dregs, and it was needful once more to look about for a Parliament. Parliament had not been very complaisant even at the beginning of Charles's reign, before he had done anything illegal; what could be expected from it now after all that had taken place?

The representatives who assembled in March, 1528, had some of them been themselves imprisoned, almost all had suffered from the loan and the quartering of the troops, and their constituents were deeply embittered by the doings of the government at home and abroad.

The tone in which the King addressed the assembly foreboded no good. As usual, he contented himself with few words, and desired the Commons to do the same, "for tedious consultations at this time are as hurtful as ill resolutions.

. . . . Every man must now do according to his conscience ; wherefore, if you (which God forbid) should not do your duties in contributing what the State at this time needs, I must, in discharge of my conscience, use those other means which God hath put into my hands to save that which the follies of some particular men may otherwise hazard to lose. Take not this as a threatening, for I scorn to threaten any but my equals."

The keeper of the great seal then added that the King had had recourse to Parliament not from necessity, but as a favour.

The bitterest complaints of the first two Parliaments had related to the King's lukewarmness about the Papists ; but these were now thrown into the shade by grievances of another kind : taxation without consent of Parliament, the forced loan, arrest of members and private persons for refusal to pay unconstitutional imposts, and the quartering of foreign soldiery. There was now an almost revolutionary tone in the speeches. The same Rudyard who three years before, in a speech before the King, had spoken of his distinguished qualities as auguring good for the country, now broke out with the words, "This is the crisis of Parliaments ; by this we shall know whether Parliaments shall live or die ; besides, the eyes of Christendom are upon us—the King and the kingdom will be valued and disvalued both by enemies and friends, according to the success of this Parliament. The cause why we are called hither is to save ourselves. We are not now upon *bene esse*, we are upon the very *esse* of it, 'whether we shall be a kingdom or no.'"

A very sharp speech was also made by Thomas Wentworth, afterwards Earl Strafford, who had himself been imprisoned for refusing a loan ; but—and this points to his secret designs—he makes a great distinction between the

King and the guilty advisers by whom he has been misled. Of these he spoke with the greatest bitterness.

In accordance with these sentiments, the first resolution of Parliament was a unanimous protest against arbitrary punishments and forced loans. Then, to conciliate the King, five subsidies were granted him, to his great satisfaction ; but before this vote was formally passed, a solemn petition was granted against all grievances with an appeal to the ancient laws of the land. The King did all in his power to frustrate the discussion of this Petition of Right ; he threatened to dissolve the House if it was not ready with the grants of money within a certain time. He then gave a solemn promise not to infringe any of the ancient statutes ; it was therefore needless to insist on the petition. But it was all in vain. The bill was brought in, and passed both Houses.

The petition professes to be a corroboration and explanation of the ancient constitution of the kingdom ; and after reciting various statutes recognising the rights contended for, prays "that no man be compelled to make or yield any gift, loan, benevolence, tax, or such like charge, without common consent by Act of Parliament ; that none be called upon to make answer for refusal to do so ; that freemen be imprisoned or detained only by the law of the land, or by due process of law, and not by the King's special command, without any charge ; that persons be not compelled to receive soldiers and mariners into their houses against the laws and customs of the realm ; that commissions for proceeding by martial law be revoked."

The petition left the King the choice either of breaking with Parliament, or of declaring, by accepting it, that he had broken the laws of the country, and now consented to their re-instatement.

After many attempts to escape, he took the latter course. By the royal sanction, the Petition of Right became an authorised interpretation of Magna Charta. In the long contest as to what was the law, the nation had gained the victory.

Nevertheless, there was much discord in this Parliament. The Commons did not desist from making violent attacks on Buckingham, and the contest was continued about tonnage and poundage, since the King would not give it up, and Parliament would not give up control over it. In June, therefore, Parliament was prorogued till January, 1629.

Before it re-assembled an assassination took place, which was regarded by the nation with the same satisfaction as the execution of Mary Stuart. The Duke of Buckingham was murdered by a certain Felton as he was about to embark on another expedition to La Rochelle.

When Parliament met, in 1629, both parties were resolved, unless an agreement could be come to, to declare open war.

In the Commons a protest was at once made against Popery and tonnage and poundage. When the Speaker, in compliance with the royal command, was about to conclude the sitting, in order to prevent the motion from being put to the vote, he was held fast in his seat by some of the zealous Puritans, while other members in vain attempted to liberate him.

Amidst great confusion the protest was carried. A royal official, who was sent down to Parliament on receipt of the news of those proceedings, found the door closed; and when the furious King sent his guard there was nothing to be done, for the sitting was at an end. Charles immediately dissolved Parliament, and in the House of Lords spoke in a very ungracious tone "of some vipers who had deluded

many in the Lower House, but had not yet poisoned them." The guilty should not escape punishment.

A royal manifesto declared that all forbearance having been frustrated by the obstinacy of some evil-disposed persons who wanted to set the nation in flames, the King would now be compelled, until it should please him to do otherwise, to reign without a Parliament.

Immediately afterwards ten members of the Lower House were arrested, and condemned to pay fines varying from £500 to £2,000, and to be imprisoned during the King's pleasure. Some of them died in prison, among them Eliot, whose petition for some relaxation of his imprisonment was refused because it was not sufficiently humble.

Thus began the eleven years' reign without a Parliament, and the foundations were laid of the great convulsion in which the throne of the Stuarts was overturned.

CHARLES I. WITHOUT A PARLIAMENT.—THE EARL OF STRAFFORD AND ARCHBISHOP LAUD.

It was Charles's scheme to transplant to England the system which was at that time bearing such brilliant fruits in France; to set aside, as had been done there, the interests of the States, represented by Parliament, and burdensome legal usages, and by an energetic exercise of the royal authority in unison with the sentiments of the masses, to make himself as popular as Richelieu was in France.

The place vacated by Buckingham's death was now filled by a greater man.

Among the members of Parliament in the second decade, together with Pym, Hampden, and Eliot, one of the most gifted speakers was Thomas Wentworth. He represented the extreme opposition, and seemed ready to stake his life for the cause. He entered the Parliament of 1628 as one

of those who had been imprisoned for refusing a loan. The vehemence of his demeanour in this assembly was what might be expected from such an experience; but, behold! Charles now gained this man for his minister.

Wentworth was a reckless and energetic party man, but did not possess the faithfulness to conviction which he was given credit for. His pathos was the studied warmth of an advocate, who well knew how to bring out the telling points of his case; but it did not come from his heart. His mind was engrossed with ideas of power and dignity; he had sought them in the paths of opposition; he found them as a minister. The opposition could not have had a more formidable adversary.

He was thoroughly versed in the weaknesses of Parliamentary parties and the arts of debate; he was in every respect well matched with his adversaries, and hated them with the implacability which the renegade feels for his former partizans.

Then, besides his oratorical powers, he possessed the talents of a really great statesman. He was born to command; in whatever he undertook his talents for organization were displayed, and he possessed more courage than most men.

He entirely broke with his past history, and as undaunted as if no ideas were connected with his name, he appeared as the minister of a system which he had himself condemned, resolved to look all the consequences in the face, and if need were, to stake his life. His system must be condemned, but it must be admitted that he represented it in an imposing style.

His plan was to invest the British monarchy with the same absolute power which the crown possessed in France. A well-organized administration, composed of dependent officials, protected by dependent judges and an efficient standing

army, was to supersede the joint government of the States, put down all resistance, but also render needless the interference of Parliament by judicious care for the welfare of the people. An able, well-meaning absolutism was what he aimed at, such as Richelieu had established ; but there was this difference : in France the States-General had been overthrown in the confusion of a forty years' civil war, while the parliamentary power in England had not only always been closely in unison with the views of the people, but had acquired fresh strength during recent reigns.

By the side of the Earl of Strafford, stood another man who guided the ecclesiastical re-action of the next ten years. Archbishop Laud was a learned ecclesiastic of strict morals and personally honourable character ; he had not the severity and consuming ambition which distinguished Strafford, but he was filled with a peculiar ecclesiastical fanaticism, which was as completely hostile to the sentiments of the strongest religious party in the country as was the unparliamentary government to old English law.

The element of ancient Catholicism which the Anglican Church had retained, and which the Puritans wished to efface, had obtained the ascendant in his weak head. He was possessed with ceremonial whims and theological absurdities, and tried to smuggle a number of hierarchal fancies into Anglicanism.

In Laud's narrow mind an episcopal ambition was concealed, which, not content with the consecration of new ceremonies and such comparatively innocent whims, was continually reminding the people that in the Church as well as the State, they had to obey an absolute will which plainly leaned towards a gradual Catholic restoration. The best hopes were entertained at Rome ; the Jesuits held up their heads ; and the court lady who went over to Catholicism at

once, because she did not wish to disappear "in the great crowd" of those who would follow, Laud at their head, hit, with all her frivolity, upon just the right expression for the sentiments of the great majority of the nation, if not exactly for the actual state of things, for Laud could scarcely be called a Papist.

This twofold re-action was too much for England. It is possible that Strafford's system might have achieved a certain success, but the people would not bear this perpetual challenge to their national sentiments by religious and ecclesiastical chicanery. The favoured clergy were playing a hazardous game. They had completely adopted the part of trainbearers to the novel absolutism; they advocated this breach of the constitutional law in sermons and pamphlets, they had a justification ready for every arbitrary act, and openly proclaimed that an episcopal canon was of more weight than all parliamentary laws, and that any ecclesiastical decree was sufficient to overthrow them.

This ecclesiastical and secular re-action had in its power, two tribunals, the Star Chamber and the High Commission, and fearful weapons they were.

The first was an extraordinary tribunal, which had existed from ancient times, and had been set up in periods of distress occasioned by internal party struggles. Under Henry VII. it had been recognised by Act of Parliament, but it was opposed to the spirit of Magna Charta, because government officials, not judges, had seats in it.

The Star Chamber was the powerful organ of an administrative justice, which was only to be called into use in exceptional cases, but it had power to decide questions relating to the property, liberty, and life of any Englishman without responsibility or right of appeal. It could be proved that this court had constantly exercised its func-

tions, especially under Elizabeth, but it now assumed a state of activity such as had never been known before. It was not defined by any law what was or was not under the jurisdiction of this court, and English legal historians are not themselves agreed about it. It was generally understood that forgery, perjury, riot, maintenance, fraud, libel, and conspiracy* were amenable to it. These were just the crimes connected with politics.

The Star Chamber had been borne with, because it had been employed, especially by Elizabeth, with moderation, and in times when revolt and conspiracies of the most dangerous kind were common ; a Government which had the great majority of the nation on its side, did not lose popularity by summary proceedings against a common foe.

The difference between the practice of Elizabeth and Charles I. was this, that under Charles the jurisdiction of this court was increased to such an extent, that the Englishman's chartered right not to be deprived of his natural judges became almost illusory, and that the people saw innocent persecuted patriots, and not criminals in the opponents of this government.

The proceedings of the Star Chamber were all the more detested as their obvious design was to enrich the King's treasury in a discreditable manner. For trifling offences, besides imprisonment, and the loss of both ears, a fine of several thousand pounds was inflicted, half of which fell to the King, even when he was in no way personally concerned. Those especially who opposed the many arbitrary imposts were brought before the Star Chamber. Thus, in 1632, a wine tax was in favour, and when the wine merchants refused it, the sale of the necessaries of life to them was forbidden by the Star Chamber until they agreed

* Hallam, ii. 105.

to lend the King £6,000, and there were many similar cases.

What the Star Chamber was for Strafford, the High Commission was for Laud ; neither was this a new thing, but had existed under Elizabeth, as an ecclesiastical court for the punishment of those who were considered heretics by the State Church.

Under Elizabeth, Papists and Independents, the heretics to the right and left of Anglicanism had been cited before it, and the latter especially, on account of their political contumacy, had received severe punishments. This was now carried further and further. The enigmatical position of Laud between Catholicism and Protestantism occasioned the same uncertainty as to what was the true and the false faith as had existed under Henry VIII. ; trivial expressions by persons in private life sufficed to incur severe punishment. This part of the system also had a hateful fiscal character ; fines were heavy and frequent, and the court even allowed its severity to be bought off. While independents and even lukewarm Anglicans were laid under contribution with the greatest severity, the Catholics bought their greater freedom by heavy payments.

Apart from Laud's whimsical perversities, there was a strict unity of purpose in Strafford's unparliamentary government. The government was better administered than it had been for a long time, the court was a pattern of citizen-like simplicity, and only hated by the Puritans because it had not renounced all gaiety ; on the whole, intelligent care was exercised for the interests of the country and the prosperity of the masses ; the taxes imposed had not received the consent of Parliament, but the Puritans who ruled Parliament had enemies enough, and the Catholics, of whom there were not a few, fared better than in previous reigns.

The resistance of the courts became more feeble ; individuals did indeed protest, but they paid in the end, and among the officials and ecclesiastics a school had arisen who willingly consented to the royal absolutism. In short, Strafford's determined but consistent energy had effected that things were borne which a few years before would scarcely have been thought credible.

To crown this edifice one thing was wanting, a standing army. The ship money was to serve to create this.

Ship money was a tax imposed for the equipment of ships which in ancient times were required to protect the coasts. It had always been an extraordinary war tax, mainly devoted to the maintenance of the fleet, and had been chiefly raised from the inhabitants of the maritime towns. But it was now to be changed into a general standing tax, not only to maintain the fleet, but also a standing army, and all this without consent of Parliament.

In spite of the submissive spirit which had been shown, it was feared that a time might come when the people's patience might suddenly come to an end, and in this case the Government would be quite defenceless without a standing army. Even the Continental states, which had never known anything like the English Parliament or Magna Charta, could not dispense with this safeguard of absolutism, how much less the English imitation of it, which had had but so short-lived an existence ! The standing army was to be the key-stone of the new monarchy. Even under Henry VIII. and Elizabeth no one had ventured to deny that such a tax could not be imposed without consent of Parliament. That it was ventured upon now shows how far things had already gone.

The ship money was raised, and borne, though not without innumerable murmurs. Strafford thought he had conquered ; only a

few years of peace, he wrote from Ireland, and the nation would become accustomed to the Government, and the King would be a more powerful ruler than any of his forefathers. He thought the people would forget what they had once called their rights, and become accustomed to be ruled like the other nations of Europe. There certainly was a danger of this; and that it might not become overwhelming, a courageous man determined to give an example.

The English revere the memory of John Hampden, who, at a time of discouragement and hoplessness, ventured to stand up for the infringed laws of Parliament.

To forestall all opposition, the King had procured a sort of formal confirmation of his rights. He had laid before the judges whether he was not justified in imposing this tax in case of necessity, for the protection of the empire, and whether it was not for him alone to decide the question of necessity, and the judges, like faithful echoes, had answered him as he wished. It was high time, in this state of universal subjection, that the voice of an independent man should interpose.

John Hampden was not a man of brilliant talent like Strafford. He had but seldom spoken during the many years that he had sat in the House of Commons; but he was known there as a man of inviolable faithfulness to his convictions. They might be erroneous; but he was ready to seal them with his death. But he was by no means a revolutionary agitator, nor yet a Puritan zealot. He refused to pay the pittance of 20s. for ship money that was allotted to him, and appealed to the ancient laws of the country. He was put on his trial, which was just what he wished. If he lost his cause for himself, it would not be lost for his country; the public conscience would at last be roused, and this would be a great gain.

Hampden's trial (1637) excited great attention. The judges of the Star Chamber were uneasy—even their consciences pricked them; the majority by which he was finally convicted was very small, and it was not doubtful which side was the gainer in public opinion. Men began to talk once more, and with fresh excitement, of the forgotten rights of old England, called to mind all their conflicts with the arrogance of the Stuarts; morally, the Government had already forfeited all the results of its exertions.

This was all, however, that was attained. The Government continued to raise the tax and to make military preparations. With many, the conviction of Hampden was a reason for renouncing all idea of resistance, seeing that in his case it had failed.

Even Hampden is said at this time to have given up all hope that things would mend. In fact, if he thought that his trial would be a signal for general resistance, he was entirely mistaken. It is said that he had resolved to seek a home beyond the sea with his then unknown relative, Thomas Cromwell, but that the Government was guilty of the unwise cruelty of refusing them permission. If such men were thinking of turning their backs upon their country in despair, their cause must have seemed hopeless indeed.

A year afterwards an important change had taken place in the situation. Complications arose which rendered the realisation of hopes which had seemed totally improbable more likely, and once more it was the unfortunate endeavour to bring about a reaction in minor ecclesiastical matters which occasioned the storm.

CHAPTER XLV.

THE TURN OF EVENTS.

The Complications in Scotland, 1637-39.—The Tumult at Edinburgh.—The Covenant, 1638.—The General Assembly at Glasgow, November, 1638.—The Fourth Parliament, 1640.—The Long Parliament.—First Measures against the Policy and Representatives of Strafford's System.—Indictment, Trial, and Execution of Strafford, May, 1641.

COMPLICATIONS IN SCOTLAND.—TUMULT AT EDINBURGH.
—THE COVENANT, THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, THE RETREAT OF CHARLES, AND THE FOURTH PARLIAMENT.
APRIL, 1640.

BEFORE Charles I. learnt to make Scotland a counterpoise to England, and to keep one nation in check by means of the other, he had regarded Scotland as an English province which would submit to regulations common to the two countries with a better grace than England. This arose from a great misunderstanding of their relations with each other.

The Scotch nobles, with their extensive possessions, and great power over submissive vassals, could much more easily than the English resolve upon armed resistance to the crown; and during the minority of James they had become very unruly. Together with this overbearing aristocracy there was a clergy, who since the time of Knox had been filled with almost republican ideas of self-government.

The two foes, therefore, of the king's autocracy in England were even more powerful and more dangerous in Scotland.

What course did Charles take in order to control them? He attempted to put the country into the power of a highly privileged state church, to intrust the highest offices in the state to a number of prelates, who were to keep the nobles and the Presbyterians in check by the same means and on the same principles as those employed by Laud and his party in England. One archbishop was made Chancellor, nine bishops composed the privy council, prelates were in the treasury and in the highest courts. This gave great offence to the ambitious nobles, and occasioned great excitement among the inferior clergy who ruled the masses.

Instead of liberty of preaching, which was the usage, strict episcopal jurisdiction was introduced; instead of synods, presbyteries, and all sorts of other civic and ecclesiastical liberties, prelatical despotism was to be the order of the day; the existing state of things had prevailed for thirty years; the system which was now to replace it, and had partially replaced it under James I., implied a complete revolution, the worst of which was still unknown, and all this was the work of "Popery," the very sound of which made the Presbyterian blood boil.

Ever since 1635, when the canons respecting the judicial authority of the bishops were proclaimed, an ominous uneasiness was observable; but when the catholicising liturgy was introduced, which had given so much offence in England, the outbreak took place.

When divine service was performed for the first time in July, 1637, in the Cathedral of Edinburgh, according to the hated method, a noisy mob rushed in, exclaiming, "A pope, a pope! Antichrist, stone him!" they threw chairs at the bishop, insulted the clergy, and, after being with difficulty

turned out, they filled the whole city with scenes of tumult, and the bishops scarcely escaped being stoned on their way home.

There was no European country where the masses were so ruled by Calvinism as in Scotland, but the indignation which showed itself in these stormy scenes surprised both friends and foes. The whole nation made the cause of the mob its own. Balaam's ass, as it was said in every pulpit, was otherwise a stupid beast, but, to the astonishment of everybody, the Lord loosed his tongue.

Charles remained firm to his purpose in spite of all representation; he proclaimed an amnesty, but declared at the same time that he hoped for ready submission to the liturgy, and so that took place which was now inevitable. Representatives of the greater and lesser nobles, the clergy, and the towns, met together and formed a provisional government, which found willing obedience throughout the country, and signed a covenant against any religious innovations, "To the greater glory of God and the salvation of their King and country." The whole nation joined in it without distinction of age, rank, or sex; even the highest nobles did not hold back, for they feared that they should be left in complete isolation if they did not follow the stream. This was the famous Covenant of the 1st of March, 1638.

The King was compelled to give way, for he stood without an army, between two nations—one of which was in a state of discontent, the other in open rebellion. The way in which he retreated, step by step, from the growing demands of the Scotch, showed that he was only succumbing to necessity and betrayed his real weakness. Of all the modes of settlement proposed by Charles, the only one accepted was a General Assembly, which he hoped to be able to turn to his own purposes, but at its first meeting it almost openly proclaimed revolution.

Amidst a vast concourse, the General Assembly was opened at Glasgow, on November 21st, 1638. After the previous experience of the Royal Commissioner, Hamilton, the spirit of the proceedings might easily have been foreseen. The first act of the assembly was to bring an accusation against all the bishops, of heresy, simony, bribery, perjury, deceit, bloodshed, adultery, fornication, drunkenness, gaming, sabbath-breaking, &c. When the bishops protested, the Royal Commissioner dissolved the assembly for going beyond its province; it met again, and declared the episcopal power, the high commissioners, the canons, the liturgy, everything, in short, which the last two Stuarts had re-introduced into the Scotch Church, null and void.

The King now seemed to intend to resort to arms. A fine army of 20,000 foot, 6,000 horse, supported by a fleet manned by 3,000 men, was raised, and was to summon the rebels into the field again, when Charles suddenly changed his mind. The fear of a revolt in his rear, the conviction that he was not strong enough to subdue two nations, one only of which was at least a match for his troops, caused him to turn round. He yielded to the Scots, conceded all that the General Assembly had demanded, and was disposed again to try an English Parliament, which should grant him the means for a war with Scotland, a fatal step, for if it failed it was sure to result in just what he wished to avoid. It was certain that the Scots would remain under arms, and probable that the English would begin to defend themselves.

For ten years the laws of the land had been set at defiance. It was only the difficulty with Scotland which had caused them to be respected again. The cause of Scotland was also the cause of the English opposition. What could be expected from a Parliament assembled under such circumstances?

The fourth Parliament of the reign of Charles I. was opened on the 13th of April.

The King had generally been in a great hurry to ask for money, and this time he could not brook the least delay. "Never," he said "has a king had more serious and urgent need to appeal to his people than I at this moment." On account of a letter having been intercepted from some Scotch lords to the King of France, the Lord Keeper, Finch, demanded the means for a campaign against the Scotch traitors, which was to take place during the summer of the same year, but the urgency of these appeals contrasted strangely with the inevitable assurance that the Parliament owed the honour of being called together solely to the paternal favour of the most just, most religious, and most gracious of princes. With this exception, the speech was as gracious as the former ones, and contained besides, the assurance that the grievances should be redressed—if the subsidies were first granted.

Parliament was not taken in by this. It now comprised members who especially condemned the system of Strafford and Laud. Even those who, compared with the Puritans, might be called Royalists, were now in the opposition. They afterwards separated, but at that time there was but one party in the assembly, and it abhorred the existing régime.

It is highly interesting to watch the proceedings of this short Parliament, to observe how indignation at the abuses of the last eleven years now found expression. Even had the House been disposed to suppress these sentiments, the petitions that poured in from the counties would not have permitted them to be silent.

The first words uttered in the House were an evidence of the state of feeling. A Mr. Grimstone declared that the

Scotch business was an evil without, while there was another within their own House which deeply affected them all. The commonweal was shamefully trodden underfoot, their property and liberties attacked, the Church divided, the Gospel and its followers persecuted, and the country swarmed with greedy caterpillars, the worst of all Egyptian plagues, &c.

Pym then rose : he was one of the most eminent speakers of the opposition ; a Puritan in his religious opinions, and now beginning to adopt their political principles. In a speech of three hours he described the distressed state of the nation. He divided the sins of the Government into three groups. In the first, he included the infringements of the liberties and privileges of Parliament during the last eleven years ; in the second, the religious innovations ; in the third, the charges on property. But in all three it was his wish to maintain the great prerogative of the Crown, that "the King can do no wrong." In a pregnant and comprehensive speech, everything that had occurred was reviewed, from the treatment of the last Parliament to the latest acts of violence. It formed a complete bill of indictment against the system of the past eleven years ; nothing was omitted.

The House next moved for a report of the proceedings against certain members of Parliament, and appointed a committee upon the infringement of the privileges of Parliament, and all other grievances collectively.

The King urged that the subsidies should be granted first, and the grievances discussed afterwards. Flattering assurances were given about the ship-money, tonnage and poundage, &c., but it was resolved that the grievances should have the precedence. Pym's classification was adopted, and they were communicated to the Lords. They .

DISSOLUTION OF THE FOURTH PARLIAMENT. 377

were for granting the subsidies first, but the Commons adhered to their resolution, and after being repeatedly urged in vain to depart from it by the King, both Houses were dissolved.

It was the fourth Parliament which Charles had dissolved, and it was the last. The next was to put an end to his reign.

Parliament had revealed the helpless isolation of the King. By that speech of Pym's the whole character of the system was laid bare to the country. Every individual had, indeed, had complaints to make, but with the then scanty press they had been individual grievances. It was Pym who had first given an exhaustive description of the state of things from these abundant materials, and a fearful bill of indictment it was which was now circulated through the country in newspapers, pamphlets, and speeches.

Compelled by events in Scotland once more to summon a Parliament, the King had now committed the gravest error. He had inspired the hopeless with courage, fatally embittered the irritated, and given them by his own acts a handle for a fearful agitation.

THE LONG PARLIAMENT.—FIRST MEASURES AGAINST THE
POLICY AND REPRESENTATIVES OF STRAFFORD'S SYSTEM.
—NOVEMBER, 1640, TO SEPTEMBER, 1641.

The King's resources were now on the decline. By a final effort the courtiers and Catholic priests whom the King had enriched at the expense of the country were compelled to submit to a loan, and the campaign against the Scots was begun. They were already on the frontier when the Royalists advanced. Amidst perpetual assurances of loyalty—they only came to lay their wishes personally at the King's feet—their splendid army crossed the Tweed, and routed

the vanguard of the Royalists on the first attack, so that the whole army fell into a panic. The money was soon exhausted, the soldiers mutinied, and the King lost courage. Strafford tried in vain to inspirit him and to persuade him to a rapid advance which should decide everything. He was already thinking of negotiating, and a last attempt to help himself by a House of submissive peers having failed, he again summoned Parliament.

This was the remarkable assembly called the Long Parliament. It survived the kingdom of the Stuarts, resisted another powerful government, was several times condemned to death and called together again ; its history is inseparable from the general course of English politics to the Restoration. It was incontestably the most important representation that the people had ever had. Not that there were no weak elements in it—vacillation and indecision were not wanting in its attitude ; but it carried on the contest with absolutism with great energy at a time when it was triumphing in the whole of Europe, without exception, and it afterwards gave Cromwell plenty to do. It was now in its prime ; it ruled England for several years, was dispersed by Charles, but rose up again over his grave. In its debates we do not find a single voice raised for his system ; all the men were in it who led the subsequent movement.

At the time of its assembling the whole situation already bore a revolutionary character, not of the wild and noisy sort that prevailed in France—it never came to a mobocracy—partly because the middle class enjoyed more confidence, and had retained more independence, partly because the Revolution was early under military control, and a Cromwell, statesman and soldier in one person, was utterly wanting in France ; but excited passions, stormy meetings,

stirring sermons were not wanting in England any more than in France, there was even a spice of terrorism. Woe would have been to him who ventured openly to oppose Parliament and its adherents. The press worked upon the masses by means of sermons, pamphlets, and speeches, and London, now a powerful city, headed the movement.

The Long Parliament was ready with a decisive and systematic attack, not only on the system and its abuses, but also on the representatives of the policy of the last eleven years. It was stormed with petitions and complaints against the numberless abuses of the administration, and again Pym passed them systematically under review; but it was clearly seen that nothing could be accomplished without the severest measures against the originators of all this evil. Laud, Secretary Windebank, Finch, keeper of the great seal, and inventor of the ship money, were accused of high treason, and were ordered to be arrested, as well as the judges who had been subservient to them, and the lords were powerless to prevent it. Finch and Windebank escaped, Strafford was in Ireland, Laud could do nothing; the King found himself already forsaken by his advisers. In this helpless situation, he was obliged to give his sanction to a bill which limited his power of arbitrarily summoning and dismissing Parliament. This was the Triennial Act. Up to this time there had been no definite regulation on the subject. It was now settled that a new Parliament must be called every three years, and that no Parliament could be dissolved without its own consent before the fiftieth day.

As a matter of course, this put an end to the old contests about tonnage and poundage, forest-right, &c. The abolition of the Star Chamber and the High Commission was also the natural result of the general tendencies of

Parliament. They even went further, and proposed to decimate the representation of bishops in the Upper House, and to reconstitute it altogether, and thus to rob the King of his last support.

TRIAL OF STRAFFORD, MAY, 1641.

Amidst these agitated debates occurred the trial of Strafford. While the storm was brewing in Parliament against Laud, Finch, and Windebank, the most dangerous and guilty of all the King's advisers was lord-deputy of Ireland, where he was trying to save what might yet be saved. His idea was to hold his position in Ireland as long as possible, and thence, aided by the national hatred of the Catholic Irish against the Anglicans, to prepare a favourable and perhaps decisive diversion for the monarchy. He therefore advised the King not to recall him, and, at all events, not to summon him to London. I am not of opinion that it was care for his personal safety which induced him to give this advice, but rather that, if there was still any way of escape, these were the right tactics for the King, hedged in as he was by two rebellious kingdoms to endeavour to secure the support of the third, and to make it the seat of a counter movement. It was soon to be shown that to summon Strafford to London was the very worst thing he could do.

Very early during the session an indictment against him was carried by a committee of both Houses, and the King commanded his presence in London. In Ireland, with the army, he might still have served the King ; but before Parliament the cause of both would be lost. But the King insisted. He promised that not a hair of Strafford's head should be hurt, though he could no longer insure his own safety. It was a fatal mistake to expose his faithful minister

to the fury of Parliament, and Strafford's last words expressed the suspicion that the King intended to sacrifice him. I do not say this ; but it was in the highest degree imprudent to sacrifice the only friend he had in the three kingdoms.

Strafford had scarcely arrived in London when the storm broke over him. Pym made a long speech, to show that in the abuses of the previous eleven years there had been a systematic attempt to destroy the ancient rights of the country, and to exchange its chartered liberties for a modern despotism. And who was the originator of the scheme? The King? By no means. With a certain irony he still held to the dogma, that the King can do no wrong. He then went on to say that though, doubtless, many evil counsellors had worked together, one could be mentioned who took the foremost place in guilt among the betrayers of the country. This was the Earl of Strafford.

Then follows a long list of sins, in which, according to the fashions of the time, the blemishes of private life by no means occupy the lowest place.

Strafford arrived too late to occupy his seat in the House of Lords, and to prevent the passing of the Bill. When he appeared it had already passed, and he had to listen to the indictment on his knees, and then to go as a State prisoner to the Tower. Not a voice was raised in his favour. Falkland only, his personal enemy, gave a warning against hasty and irregular proceedings.

The trial before the House of Lords did not begin till March, 1641. The accusation of high treason was more easily made than proved. There was no doubt as to what constituted high treason according to English law ; but the ordinary conception of it did not agree with the accusations against Strafford. According to a statute of Edward

III., high treason was an injury to the King, his person, family, or authority ; but there was nothing about an attempt to upset the fundamental laws of the country. The other accusations against him were of a number of separate crimes which could not be construed into high treason against the country.

It was upon this weakness of the indictment that his masterly defence was based.

He spoke not only with the power of an orator of the first rank, he exhibited the repose and confidence of a clear conscience : he conducted his case as if not he, but his accusers, were guilty of distorting and wishing to overthrow the laws of the land, and he also struck those chords which touch the feelings. It was only for the sake of his children whom he held by the hand, he said in conclusion, that he had so long claimed their lordships' attention. He awaited a just sentence, and commended his soul to heaven.

The effect of this speech was so powerful, as is testified even by his opponents, that the Commons doubted whether the Lords would find him guilty. They immediately resolved upon an exceptional measure. If there was a gap in the laws, Parliament had power to fill it up. This was done by bringing in a Bill of Attainder, which was carried by a large majority. A Bill of Attainder declared him who was affected by it to be beyond the law. It had often been adopted under Henry VIII., but only as a weapon of despotism and lawless power. By such a law Strafford was condemned, and suffered death on the 11th of May.

He met death with the composure and resolution of a martyr in a holy cause. Without bitterness he requested the King to ratify the sentence, and only when it was done he exclaimed, "Put not your trust in princes, nor in the sons of men, for in them there is no salvation."

CHAPTER XLVI.

OPEN BREACH BETWEEN THE KING AND PARLIAMENT.*

The King in Scotland, August, 1641.—Massacre of the Protestants in Ireland.—Return of Parliament in October, and the Separation of Parties into Cavaliers and Roundheads.—The Great Remonstrance, November, and the unsuccessful *Coup d'Etat*, January 3 and 4, 1642.—Commutations in London.—The First Parliamentary Army.—Departure of the King.—Return of Parliament, January 11, 1642.

THE KING IN SCOTLAND ; THE MASSACRE IN IRELAND.—
RETURN OF PARLIAMENT.—CAVALIERS AND ROUND-
HEADS.

ROBBED of his last weapons of defence, the King hoped to break the force of the storm, by prudent temporising, to subjugate his adversaries by causing divisions among them, and, having secured breathing time in one place, to make himself master of another.

While the Commons, elated by their late success, were proceeding to effect radical changes in Church and State, to overthrow the episcopal constitution in the one, and to limit the royal power in the other, so as to render it com-

* Forster, *Debates of the Great Remonstrance*, November and December, 1641 ; London, 1860. The same, *Arrest of the Five Members* by Charles I. *History of the Rebellion*, by Werth, from authentic materials, chiefly from Clarendon. Review of it by Forques " *Revue des deux Mondes* ;" April, 1861, and February, 1862. (The following representation is mainly based upon this.)

pletely impotent, Charles had a grand scheme for ridding himself of all his oppressors.

He informed Parliament that he should go in person to Scotland, to bring about a reconciliation between the two countries. His idea was to effect a separation between the causes of the two countries, to re-establish in the north the royal authority, of which he was so destitute in the south, to gain a strong party among the discontented, and especially the royalist nobles of the army just dismissed, and to collect proofs of high treason against his enemies.

At his desire, Parliament prorogued itself till his return, but amidst circumstances which plainly indicated great discontent. Before separating, both Houses formed a committee, of which Pym was president. Another committee was to accompany the King to Scotland.

In the middle of August, Charles appeared in Scotland. Men's minds were taken by storm. No native king had ever been so popular as was this same Charles, against whom they had just taken the field.

Peace was soon made ; but, at what a price ! Charles relinquished nearly all the crown rights that he had yet to lose. It was not surprising that the Scots should demand the Triennial Bill, since it had received the King's sanction in England, but the right was also granted to the Scotch Parliament at the end of every session to determine when and where the next should be held. It was also to nominate all the King's ministers, judges, and officers of State, and he had at once to submit to see his adherents superseded in the public offices by his opponents. He even loaded with honours and pensions the Presbyterian ministers whom he could never hope to gain for his cause, and felt himself rewarded when the leaders promised never to interfere in the ecclesiastical affairs of England.

While this reconciliation was going on a fearful revolt broke out in Ireland, which showed what Strafford had been doing there.

One of the most serious accusations against Strafford had been his despotism as governor of Ireland. It was supposed, therefore, that as a matter of course, with his fall the harsh government by which he had coerced the country, and made its resources and troops available to England, would cease. Ireland claimed the same rights that had been granted to England and Scotland, but, as things were, this would have produced absolute anarchy, and this was taken advantage of by the old Catholic party for waging a cruel war of revenge against the English Protestants in Ireland.

The Catholic Irish formed five-sixths of the population, the other sixth being English colonists, and under Strafford's iron rule, the former had enjoyed a certain toleration of their faith, and might have expected the same from Charles and his Catholicising system. But they could not look for it from the nearly all-powerful Puritans; from them they could but expect the oft-threatened extermination of "Popery." To add to this, there was the ancient national hatred, and the memory of the revenge on the Ulster rebels, whose enormous possessions had, under James I., been conferred on thousands of English and Scotch immigrants. A horrible massacre of the Protestants now took place by the fanatical Catholics. The project had been formed in the deepest secrecy, and many thousands of the unsuspecting English were murdered almost in their sleep. The barbarous cruelties by which this massacre was accompanied, and which were inflicted by men, women, and even children, are enough to make one's hair stand on end. The lowest figure at which the number of victims is reckoned is forty thousand.

The Irish rebels declared that they were fighting for throne and altar, Pope and King. Even apart from these declarations, Charles's enemies gave him credit for having instigated the revolt. It was known that he wished to have employed the Scots against Parliament; it was known that he made all manner of attempts to draw the Royalists in Parliament over to his cause, to destroy the leaders of the opposition—why should he disdain to bring the Irish into the field against them also?

We can say almost to a certainty that this supposition was false. For a conspiracy of this sort projected by the King himself, a more favourable moment would certainly have been chosen; and if support from this quarter had been looked for, the conduct of the conspiracy would have been committed to such a man as Strafford, not to such persons as Phelim O'Neale or Roger More, whose loyalty could by no means be relied on.

Pym, the watchful president of the committee, had taken care to guard Parliament against Royalist intrigues. In spite of Charles's great caution, Pym was informed by Hampden of all his proceedings, and the report which he made to Parliament when it reassembled, on October 20th, was so serious, that it was resolved at once to place London in a state of siege, and to guard both Houses by train-bands night and day. This was an obvious interference with the prerogative of the crown; but this was dexterously disguised, by devolving the command on the popular Earl of Essex, who had been intrusted by the King with this office during his absence. A member, then unknown, but who excited attention by his vehemence, Oliver Cromwell, proposed to call out all the militia of the kingdom for the defence of the country—the germ of the Parliamentary army, which he was afterwards to lead.

A further step was taken. The King was petitioned to dismiss his evil counsellors ; otherwise Parliament, in spite of its loyalty, would be compelled to take measures for its own security and that of Ireland. By his evil counsellors were meant Hyde, Colepepper, Falkland, and others, who had formerly led the attack against Strafford's system, but were now on the King's side.

This throws a strong light upon the party divisions which during the six weeks' prorogation had taken place in the previously compact mass. Against the Star Chamber, the High Commission, tonnage and poundage, Parliament had stood together like one man. There had also been an overwhelming majority in favour of the security and increase of the privileges of Parliament ; and even amongst the members, about sixty, who had voted against the Bill of Attainder against Strafford, those who were now to show that the race of Strafford was by no means extinct, were not found.

But now two hostile parties confronted each other, and on all decisive questions there was but a small majority and a very strong minority ; these were the Cavaliers and Roundheads.

The one party consisted mainly of all the Catholics in the country, who sought in the regal power a support against the radicalism of the Puritans—the superior clergy, and the royalist majority of the aristocracy ; the other consisted of the rigid Protestants in town and country, to whom religious and political liberty was one and the same thing. The one party wished to quell the agitation, so soon as the most necessary concessions were obtained ; the other would not be satisfied so long as the King and popery retained the least power to infringe the laws of the land, or to restrict religious liberty.

There was as yet no Cromwell at the head of the latter party, but moderate men such as Hampden, Holles, and Pym. Pym's standpoint on the Church question is shown by his confession of faith in the short Parliament in April, 1640. He said, "I desire not to have any new laws made against them (the Catholics), nor a strict execution of the old ones, but only so far forth as tends to the safety of his Majesty. There can be no security from Papists but in their disability. Laws will not restrain them, oaths will not; the Pope dispenseth with both, and his command acts them against the realm, in spirituals and in temporals, *ad spiritualia*."

His opinions about the royal authority were precisely the same. After all their bitter experience it was needful to erect strong defences against the abuse of it, in spite of Magna Charta and the Petition of Right.

THE GREAT REMONSTRANCE AND THE UNSUCCESSFUL
COUP D'ETAT; NOVEMBER, 1641, TO JANUARY, 1642.

These parties were most strongly opposed to each other, when it was proposed by Pym and his adherents that a great remonstrance should be addressed to the King, but it was in reality intended to be an appeal from Pym to the people.

In a lengthy and systematic document, of not less than 206 paragraphs, Pym drew up a list of all the grievances under the rule of Charles I.; and on the other hand detailed the exertions of Parliament on behalf of English liberties, so that the country should be in the possession of documents which should enable it to judge between the King and the people's representatives. It is noteworthy that Pym now seems to have renounced the principle that the King can do no wrong, and had adopted the idea

of his personal responsibility. The tactics of the Royalists, and especially of their recent accessions, were to make this question the battle-ground of debate, and to measure the strength of parties ; every inch of ground was sharply contested, single propositions, single words even, were warmly debated for hours, every pretext for delay of the motion was eagerly seized upon, as if it were possible to starve the enemy by endless debates. This struggle lasted from the 9th to the 20th of November. Men's passions were naturally heated red hot. When the arrest of members of Parliament came to be discussed, Pym exclaimed, " Eliot's blood still cries for revenge," and the Commons rose and repeated, " His blood cries for revenge."

As the Remonstrance could neither be suppressed nor weakened, the royalists tried to effect that the King only should receive it, and not the public, and therefore demanded that it should not be printed : but Pym replied that the very object was that England might understand the situation of affairs, and take the side of those who defended her cause. On November 22nd, after a last passionate debate, the bill was passed by 159 votes against 148. The publication of the address was also voted after being vehemently opposed by Hyde and Falkland. After it was passed, Cromwell remarked to Falkland, " Had the remonstrance been rejected, I would to-morrow have sold everything I possess, and never have seen England more, and I know many other honest men of the same resolution." A bold attempt by one of the minority to divide the House by a protest by his party failed. Palmer who had moved it was sent to the Tower.

Charles just then returned from Scotland, and met with a brilliant reception by the citizens of London ; he entertained great hopes, and assumed a tone of confidence in

all that he said and did. The royalist heroes of the recent debates, Falkland, Hyde, and Colepepper, became his confidential advisers, and soon afterwards officially entered his service; the guard of the Houses of Parliament were dismissed; and the party of the Remonstrance, when they called attention to the insecurity of the Palace of Westminster, were told that so long as it required no guard Parliament did not require one either.

After the Remonstrance, both parties felt that a crisis was approaching. Each reproached the other with entertaining treacherous projects, and by degrees the populace of London was in a commotion. About the end of December there were several bloody skirmishes between the royal troops, joined by the students of the Inns of Court, and the apprentices and Thames watermen on the other side. The year ended amidst the most gloomy indications, and on January 3rd, 1642, the storm burst. The Commons were just discussing a scornful message from the King, who, to their repeated requests for a guard, replied that he himself was their protector against every danger — when in the Upper House, another royal message was delivered, accusing Lord Kimbolton and five of the Commons of high treason on seven counts. While the discussion was going on in the Commons, Pym and Hollis were called out. They shortly returned, and Pym reported that his own, Hollis's, and Hampden's dwellings had been entered and their desks and chests sealed. The House declared this proceeding to be a crying abuse of their privileges, and asserted that violence against any member of the House must be met by violence. Just then the Royal Sergeant appeared, and demanded in the name of the King that the five members, Hollis, Haslerig, Pym, Hampden, and Strode, should be given up on a charge of high treason. The House received

the message in gloomy silence ; no one laid hands on the five members ; and it was resolved to inform the King, by a deputation, that the House would take the King's demand into serious consideration, and that the members would be ready to answer any legal accusation. This first attack was therefore warded off, but the second followed the next morning. After a violent scene with the Queen, who is reported to have said, "Go, coward, and pull these rogues out by the ears, or never see me more," the King set out to accomplish what his sergeant had failed to do. At the beginning of the sitting, after the accused had vehemently protested against the "scandalous document," as they called the indictment, and had received permission to withdraw, the King appeared at the head of one hundred armed men before the doors of the House. Accompanied by his nephew, Charles of the Palatinate, brother of Rupert, he entered the House, advanced with a friendly greeting to the Speaker, and begged him to relinquish his place to him for a short time. Embarrassed and hesitating, he delivered a short speech, which has been preserved to us verbatim. Amidst assurances that the privileges of the House had not lain nearer to the heart of any monarch than to his, he declared with strong emphasis that in cases of high treason there could be no question of privilege ; he had, therefore, expected obedience, and not a message in reply to his yesterday's summons. He then looked round for the well-known faces of his worst foes, and not seeing them, asked where they were. No one answered. Then he turned with the same question to the Speaker, who, being a timid man, fell on his knees, and said that in that place he had neither eyes to see nor ears to hear otherwise than as the House directed. "Well," said Charles, "since the birds are flown, I do expect that you will send them to me as soon as they return hither," otherwise he must

resort to other means to find them. " Their treason is horrible, and is of that kind that you will all thank me for discovering." Amidst loud murmurs, he left the House.

The King had proceeded to extremities, and had failed. He had not secured the leaders, and had exposed himself in an unexampled manner. Up to this time, he had kept up an appearance of wishing to keep the peace with his Parliament ; but the scene of the 4th of January tore aside the mask. He was the old Charles of Strafford's time, the policy of the last eleven years was still uppermost.

THE COMMOTION IN THE CAPITAL.—THE FIRST PARLIAMENTARY ARMY.—DEPARTURE OF THE KING.

The fate of the five members depended mainly on the attitude which might be taken by the City of London in the difference between King and Parliament. Both parties hoped for its sympathies. The excitement about the events of the 4th of January was indescribable. At the first news of it the shops were closed, business was at a stand-still, and the idle populace poured into the streets.

The King did not believe that this excitement was unfavourable to him. Had he not met with a warm reception in his capital only a few weeks before ? On the morning of the 5th of January, he proceeded, without any military escort, to the Guildhall, to encourage his friends and intimidate his adversaries ; but he was assailed with curses and threats, rebellious voices were heard in the Guildhall itself, and on his return the people shouted after him " Privilege, privilege ! "

While he was making this excursion, the Commons were declaring his proceedings against the five members, and his armed visit to Parliament to be an attack on the rights of the House, and adjourned for several days, appointing a

committee to transact the current business. This committee placed itself in communication with the five members, who were concealed in the neighbourhood of Westminster, and now came the time when "king" Pym guided from his hiding-place the very movement which was to have been stopped by his arrest.

Meanwhile the London militia took up arms. A disturbance during the night of the 6th-7th of January, a report that the King had sent out armed men to take the five members, brought 40,000 armed citizens to their feet in the course of an hour. To the 100,000 of the proletariat, who, since the Christmas of the preceding year, had occasionally dealt blows to the cavaliers with their halberds and sabres, were now joined the well-to-do citizens. The attitude of the metropolis in the strife was decided on.

The committee of Parliament now instituted a formal indictment against the King. Witnesses were called about the proceedings of the 4th of January, the warrant for the arrest of the five members which had been issued by the King alone was demanded from the two sheriffs of London, and finally, in open defiance of the King, it was resolved that the five members had the right to join the sittings of the committee; this they did, though a royal mandate had gone forth that no citizen of London was to receive them, nor furnish them with a ship to emigrate, and a fresh mandate had been issued to all officials to seize them wherever found.

The committee went further and further. The measures taken by the city for the protection of Parliament were pronounced to be meritorious, and every one who opposed them was denounced as the enemy of his country; a commander was appointed to guard the fortress and city, and for the 11th of January, the day of the re-assembling of Par-

liament, all the citizens who could bear arms were called out. The trained bands of the city received their orders; they were joined by 4,000 farmers from Buckinghamshire, countrymen of Hampden, who declared that they would die at the feet of Parliament if need were. The proletariats of the workshops, the Thames watermen, the militia of Southwark, offered themselves as a guard to Parliament, and the committee was in a position to organize an imposing Parliamentary army for the ceremony of the 11th of January. The resolution to do this already amounted to revolution.

Parliament appointed a leader for the troops raised in the city. All the officers and men had to sign the Parliamentary protest against the royal attempt. It was declared to be their duty to obey the House in spite of any other orders or counter orders, and their mission to repel any attack, come whence it might. And all this was for the protection of the "King, the kingdom, and Parliament."

The King had received regular intelligence of all this; with impotent rage he had seen one piece of his prerogative go after the other. But this was too much. He could not and would not witness the entry of Parliament, the solemn return of the "traitors," whose death he had sworn. On the evening of the 10th of January he set out with his wife and children for Hampton Court.

The next morning, amidst indescribable rejoicings, the five members made their entry into the city, which was festively adorned. The banks of the Thames were occupied by companies of the militia, with copies of the protest on their pikes. The river was covered with boats and ships, from which salutes quickly followed each other. The persecuted members were received on the threshold of the palace by the whole House.

CHAPTER XLVII.

THE CIVIL WAR.

Prospects of both Parties.—Victories of the Royalists, October, 1642, to September, 1643.—Interposition of the Scots.—Presbyterians and Independents.—Defeat of the Royalists at Marston Moor, July, and at Newbury, October, 1644.—Oliver Cromwell.—The Self-denying Ordinance.

THE CIVIL WAR; PROSPECTS OF BOTH PARTIES.—VICTORIES OF THE ROYALISTS, OCTOBER, 1642; SEPTEMBER, 1643.

CHARLES did not anticipate when he left London that he would enter it again as a prisoner of state. It was his hope rather, and many things justified him in it, to make his entry into the capital at no very distant period as victor over all his enemies. The tide of revolution which had risen so high in the metropolis had not extended much beyond, and not at all to the Northern counties. The loyal members of the aristocracy, whose voices were drowned in London by the fury of the populace and the passions of the majority in Parliament, had more scope elsewhere; and if they had a legitimate centre, they might, with their influence upon the rural population, become a powerful instrument of royalist reaction.

At York, where the King fixed his temporary residence, he found himself in the midst of a daily increasing retinue

from the highest circles of the aristocracy. Almost the whole Upper House, and a strong minority in the Commons, joined his cause. Since Parliament had deprived the bishops of their votes, and seemed disposed to overthrow the whole episcopal constitution, the temporal nobles saw that their own position in the State was threatened, as well as the monarchy ; the Hotspurs among the Royalists, who, in London, had been condemned to silence by the terrorism of parties, now regained speech and courage ; the moderate party, also, who had formerly opposed the absolutism of the ministers and the crown, saw, in the now harmless King, the last defence against the ascendancy of a party whose aims appeared to extend beyond the monarchy itself. Parliament was undeniably in the path of complete usurpation. It might be excused as only the exercise of the right and duty of defence ; but it was nevertheless a fact, though all that was decreed and done against the King, was, in accordance with the constitutional fiction, done in his name. In the name of the King, Parliament had nominated governors of all the counties, with the command of all the forces, the garrisons, and fortresses of the kingdom, though the King had naturally rejected the bill with indignation, for it gave all the defences of the country into the hands of Parliament to use against him. The further this was carried, the more decided would be the variance between elements whose relations had hitherto been undefined, so much the larger would be the number of the King's followers.

Both sides made preparations and carried on negotiations for months. At length, in 1642, Parliament stated its ultimatum in nineteen demands. Nothing less was demanded than the supremacy of Parliament over the whole State, the King included. The King was to choose his

advisers according to the pleasure of the House, and without their consent no act of his was to be valid. All officials and the superior judges were to be appointed with the concurrence of Parliament, and were to be irremovable. No member of the royal family could contract marriage without the consent of Parliament. The laws against the Catholics were to be enforced, and divine worship and Church government reformed in accordance with the resolutions of Parliament. The militia laws were to be under Parliament; its jurisdiction was to extend to all sorts of crimes; a general amnesty was to be granted, with exceptions which Parliament was to determine; fortresses and castles could only be disposed of in accordance with its will; and no peer could be created without consent of both Houses.

These demands could not be accepted by Charles.

"These being passed," he replied, "we may be waited on bareheaded, we may have our hand kissed, the style of Majesty continued to us, and the King's authority declared by both Houses of Parliament, may be still the style of your commands; we may have swords and maces carried before us, and please ourselves with the sight of a crown and sceptre (yet even these twigs would not long flourish when the stock upon which they grew was dead); but as to true and real power, we should remain but the outside, but the picture, but the sign of a King."*

This was the last peaceful exchange of opinions between the contending parties; from this time it was a question of arms. In reviewing the forces of both, there was a manifest disproportion between them.

Deprived of his prerogative, without the fortresses, ships, troops, arms, or money of the kingdom at his disposal,

* Rushworth.

when the King raised his standard at York he was like an adventurous pretender aiming to overthrow the legitimate government, with a retinue of noble retainers and a rushing stream of excited public opinion against him. Parliament had all that the King lacked, all the munitions of war in abundance, and as the money in hand was not sufficient to support the army, a loan was issued; within ten days the treasury was filled with plate contributed by the families of the favourable party, to be coined into money.

The levy of troops amidst the general enthusiasm was most successful.

Under the impression of these things, the opinion might well be entertained in Parliament that, if the King did not prefer to submit without drawing the sword, the war would be ended by a single blow. But the event was very different.

The first engagement, on October 23rd, at Edge Hill, did not yield a decisive victory to either party; but it showed that the Parliamentary army had nothing equal to the well-drilled cavalry of the brave cavaliers. Prince Rupert put the enemy's left wing to flight on the first assault, the right wing was repulsed, and, had it not been for the too vehement pursuit of the royal reserve, by which the infantry was subjected to a fierce attack by the Parliamentary army, the day would have been lost to the latter. After the confidence with which the army of the Earl of Essex had set out from London, it made the impression, and produced the results, of an actual defeat. The King pushed on towards London; Parliament anxiously began to negotiate, and was not pacified till the Earl of Essex was on the spot, and, strengthened by 24,000 of the London militia, arrested the King's progress.

The King established his winter quarters at Oxford, the

only city really true to him, and made vigorous preparations for the spring campaign.

The year 1643 brought one success after another to the Royalist arms. The Earl of Newcastle succeeded in subjecting all the northern counties to the King, a political progress against which some military failures did not weigh heavily in the scale. The result was the same in the west. In Cornwall the Royalist nobles rose against the rebellion, offered their vassals to the King, drove two Parliamentary armies, at Stratton and Lansdown, from the field, and after Prince Maurice had beaten Waller, the best of the Parliamentary generals, at Roundway Down, they joined the royal army at Oxford. Prince Rupert had previously fallen upon and routed part of Essex's army, on which occasion Hampden received a fatal wound; and soon after Rupert stormed Bristol, the second city in the kingdom.

On September 20th, a battle took place at Newbury, in which Falkland fell, and which ended for the Earl of Essex with an honourable retreat to London. In the main, the advantage was on the Royalist side, and the partial successes won by Thomas Fairfax and Oliver Cromwell in the north did not effect a decision, as, soon after the victory of Wakefield, Fairfax's army was completely routed at Atherton Moor.

All the energy of the Parliamentary committee, of which Pym was one, was required to keep down the discontent which never fails to take possession of a party obstinately pursued by misfortune.

The most rigid measures were therefore taken against every tendency to cry for peace, or to give but a lukewarm support to the war. Compulsory taxes were levied, multitudes of Royalists imprisoned and robbed of their property, and when a conspiracy was traced, the leaders were hung before their own doors.

INTERFERENCE OF THE SCOTCH.—PRESBYTERIANS AND
INDEPENDENTS.—THE CAMPAIGN OF 1644-5.—DEFEAT
OF THE ROYALISTS AT MARSTON MOOR AND NEWBURY.

The situation of the Parliamentary party had taken a most unfavourable turn. The war which they had hoped to decide by a few powerful strokes had brought them nothing but misfortune. Their ill-disciplined recruits were almost everywhere beaten, and were deeply discouraged; the generals were at variance, and had lost confidence in their party; the means for the support of the army were only to be obtained by the greatest exertions; unpopular financial measures, such as the excise devised by Pym, had become necessary, and mutinous voices were heard among the party.

In these difficulties, Pym, who was never at a loss for resources, entered into an understanding with the Scotch that they should make an unexpected diversion in the King's rear, just where he had been most successful during the past year.

On the other side of the Tweed the Royalist victories had been watched with almost as great anxiety as in London, where an attack might at any moment be looked for.

The concessions which Charles had made in his distress, in order to separate the interests of the two kingdoms, were so entirely opposed to his personal inclinations and past policy, that no one could suppose that, once victorious over the English Parliament, he would be willing to be merely the shadow of a King in Scotland.

Out of the common danger rose the alliance, offensive and defensive, between the Scotch and English Parliament, formally entered into on the 17th of September, 1643.

According to the words of this treaty, the object of the

alliance was not only to maintain the rights of both Parliaments against the Royalists, but to extirpate Popery, episcopacy, and the episcopal form of church government, and to substitute a new and reformed one in the three kingdoms. By this the Scots intended the Presbyterian form ; but the English had been cautious enough to express their intentions in terms so general, that the question may be considered an open one : "Reform of the Church in England and Ireland according to the Word of God and the example of the purest churches."

In fact, on this point Parliament by no means agreed with the Scots. By the side of a minority of Anglicans, who secretly held to the episcopal constitution and the semi-Catholic form of worship, was the Presbyterian party, who favoured moderate Calvinistic views, mortally hated Popery, but would have been well content with the continuance of episcopal authority if deprived of its political privileges, and on this subject, as on politics, wished to avert radical innovations. Then there were the Independents, whose influence was increasing. They were the extreme left of the Puritan party, and wished for a formal revolution in Church and State.

The Independents had constructed a religious, ecclesiastical, and political creed of their own, based on the principles of extreme Calvinism. It was a curious mixture of Old Testament reminiscences, Calvinistic dogmas, and political radicalism. They had become a sect of strong mystical hue ; the preaching of the millennial kingdom, then speaking with tongues and religious ecstasies, distinguished their worship from all previous services ; their taste for Old Testament names, a special garb, their gloomy strictness and boast of monastic contempt for the world, made them outwardly peculiar. They hated not only the Romish

Church, and all that the Anglican Church had retained of its usages : they wished to have no priests, and held that every believer was a priest. No congregation of the "Godly," as they styled themselves, would tolerate any man above it ; the strictest democratic equality was demanded for it as a whole, though it might be composed of the dregs of the people, as well as for every individual ;—was not the Redeemer a carpenter's son ? was not his teaching addressed to the weary and heavy laden ?

They were a singular race of mortals. He who thinks to dispose of them as hypocrites, spares himself the trouble of characterizing them ; but he does not account for their great significance. Hypocrisy is not capable of ruling the masses as they ruled them, nor of dying for their cause as they died. They were undoubtedly fanatics of the wildest sort, and some of their sayings almost bear the stamp of religious insanity ; but many of them are deeply thought out, and produced a most powerful effect. Cromwell's speeches, with all the Puritanical flourishes which belong to the fashion of the age, display an earnestness and depth, an eloquence and striking delineations of the situation, which rise far above any other memorials of this period.

This sect was profoundly in earnest with its creed ; to others it might appear like madness, but its members were resolved to die for it. They had imbibed with their mothers' milk the rigid relentless energy of a struggling church, and had maintained it in many a conflict. It was thus that they achieved extraordinary success. A party, which numbered scarcely one-tenth of the nation among its followers, ruled the three kingdoms with more effect than ever an absolute government or an assembly has ruled France ; and Cromwell, though he knew that almost the

whole kingdom was against him, not only ruled the country for ten years, but dictated laws to Europe.

The consequences of the civil war between Charles I. and Parliament, after it had been waged with decided ill success by the latter, inspired no party with such cool determination as the Independents.

The fiction of a war in "the name" of him against whom it was waged, was at once thrown overboard. The idea of the restoration of a constitution, which, just because it was impossible with this monarch had led to war, was now simply laid aside—the possibility of a reconciliation with Charles I. was no longer thought of. The result was that this party alone waged war with thorough energy and determination ; while the Presbyterians, the Earl of Essex at their head, could not but be accused of a certain half-heartedness. They wished for the restoration of ancient rights, forgetting how far they had already got beyond them.

In the following campaign this contrast was to be fully brought out, and the participation of the Scotch, however much their help might be desired, could but help the process, for their Presbyterian Church government was almost as hateful to the Independents as the Anglican itself.

The first decisive conflict of 1644 related to the possession of the northern counties, and their centre, York.

Reinforced by the Scotch, who had been advancing since February, and by the army of the Earl of Manchester, in which Cromwell served, Fairfax had in the summer collected a force strong enough to undertake the assault of York with a prospect of success. The siege had begun when Prince Rupert arrived with 20,000 men, and contrived by a dexterous operation to throw his whole force into the city. Contrary to the advice of the Earl of Newcastle, he gave battle on the open field. The greatest passage of arms

which the war had hitherto seen took place on July 2nd at Marston Moor. A bloody contest went on for hours, but Cromwell's distinguished generalship at length decided the day, and the Royalists suffered a fearful defeat. York, the King's most trustworthy support in the northern counties, was lost.

Meanwhile, two armies, under Essex and Waller, had undertaken a combined attack upon the Royal camp at Oxford, but with these generals' usual want of success. On June 29th, Waller was signally defeated at Copraby bridge; and on September 1st, Essex's army was involved in a great defeat, and he himself only escaped in a boat.

But now Parliament put considerable reinforcements at their disposal, and commanded Manchester and Cromwell to join them. With these forces, the King was again attacked, on October 27th, at Newbury, and, after an obstinate defence, driven back to Oxford. Cromwell urged taking speedy advantage of the victory, so that the war might be ended by a great stroke; but this was opposed by Manchester, which gave rise to fatal dissensions between these generals. Charles owed it to these quarrels alone that he occupied his winter quarters without molestation. During this winter the dispute between the Presbyterians and Independents ended in an open breach, and the man who was henceforth to influence so largely the fate of England and of Europe, come into the foreground.

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

Oliver Cromwell was born amidst limited circumstances, on April 25th, 1599, at Huntingdon. On his mother's side he was related to the Stuarts, on his father's to that Crom-

* Oliver Cromwell (after Carlyle's description) in *Raumers Taschenbuch*.

well who was for a time minister to Henry VIII., and received the name of *Malleus Monachorum*.

He grew up in a moderately prosperous household, in which Puritan piety and strictness of morals were old traditions. The stories of his having passed through a wild and passionate youth have been contradicted. However bitterly his enemies might hate him, they were compelled to allow that his private and domestic life was exemplary. Piety, discipline, and purity in family life never celebrated a more beautiful triumph than in his family.

Though not unversed in learning, Cromwell was designed for a farmer. At the time when the conflict between the Crown and the Parliament began, he was still a quiet, monosyllabic countryman, simply and honestly pursuing his rural occupations. He formed a respectable middle-class marriage, founded a domestic hearth, and all his ways and doings were those of a contented English farmer. Decided, characteristic religious tendencies began, however, to show themselves. He diligently attended the prayer-meetings of his fellow-professors, devoted his savings to the Puritan travelling preachers, zealously took part in their missions, and occasionally undertook a proselytizing journey himself. No less significant was his connection with the eminent patriots of those times. John Hampden was his cousin, and he may have received his first political interests from him.

He first appeared as a politician in the memorable Parliament of 1628. His maiden speech consisted of but a few words, but they were on a subject which was, with him, a matter of conscience. He spoke of Popish intrigues which a preacher in his neighbourhood had been carrying on, and for which he had been rewarded by his bishop with a benefice. Such occurrences were then frequent. "If these," said Cromwell, "are the means of rising in the Church, what can

we expect?" Then came the eleven years of absolutism. Cromwell was now simply the farmer again, and a patriarch in his little congregation. He occupied himself with prayer-meetings and preaching journeys, went about among the "quiet in the land," who might be relied on in case of need, and he became one of the most influential persons in his community.

In the Parliament of 1640, he was in his place again. Once he spoke for the ill-used secretary of the fanatical Prynne, at another time for the rights of poor peasants and for the Scotch. He was an offence to the Cavaliers, with his large frame, harsh voice, plain coat, and fervid eloquence. When Hampden was asked "who that sloven was," he said, "That sloven whom you see before you hath no ornament in his speech; that sloven, I say, if we should ever come to a breach with the King (which God forbid), in such a case, I say, that sloven will be the greatest man in England."

Then came the breach; and among the first who made sacrifices for the Parliamentary cause, was Cromwell.

Now forty-three years of age, and the father of six children, he contributed first three and then five hundred pounds of his property. With his eldest son, a hopeful youth, he joined the Parliamentary volunteers, thus staking his family, his happiness, and his property. He kept up communication with Cambridge, and contrived that two companies of volunteers should be established there, and the treasures of the University saved for Parliament. No one could then say whether the path in which he was boldly leading the way might not lead to the scaffold, and he was like a voluntary victim breaking down the bridge behind him. Unlike the Presbyterians, then the great majority in the nation and in Parliament, who thought it possible to fight against the King in the King's name, Cromwell took up the war from the first

in terrible earnestness. "He who draws the sword against the King," he used to say "must throw the sheath into the fire;" and he told his company that his commission was indeed to fight for King and Parliament, but he hated ambiguity; let each man ask himself if he, like himself, could make up his mind, in case he came upon the King in a fray, to shoot him down like any other man; let not him who could not do so serve under him.

When the first victories of the Royalists took place, he told Hampden that it did not surprise him; they could not hope with hirelings, serving men, and day labourers, to make head against noblemen with honour, courage, and resolution in their hearts. They must get men of spirit, who would be as ready to go into the fire as the nobles, or they would always be beaten; and he acted in accordance with his advice. He had a wonderful talent for military organization; though not brought up to it, he had the true instinct.

Instead of the mob of discharged soldiers and deserters of which the Parliamentary army was composed, he tried to attract the best of the middle classes into it, and to create a genuine citizen army. This ideal army was to be a political body, filled with the same spirit, and modelled after the fashion of the company he had formed of his countrymen. He therefore created a few squadrons of Puritans, soon amounting to fourteen, which should serve as a pattern for the new army.

In these, as it was said, half in jest, half in earnest, his "saints" were represented; the quiet companions of his prayer-meetings, the singular fanatics of the conventicles, square-shouldered citizens and peasants, with gloomy looks and coarse attire. It was like a fraternity of psalm-singers and devotees in arms. Cursing, swearing, feasting, was not found here as in other camps; prayer was offered and

services were held ; laymen appeared as preachers, just as the illumination came to them, as was customary in their peaceful services at home. The Puritan congregation was transferred to the camp, with all their singularities, but also with their religious enthusiasm, their discipline, fear of God, and devotion to their cause. It was totally different in the other army, in which the lawless behaviour of the troops, and the discontent of their distinguished leaders spoiled everything.

It was of stuff like this that the squadrons were composed who first opposed the onslaught of the dreaded Cavaliers, and were soon to drive them out of the field.

At Marston Moor, Cromwell and his Puritan horsemen first gained a decisive victory. The hitherto unvanquished Cavaliers of Prince Rupert had, as Cromwell said, been cut down like stubble by their swords ; he had projected a similar blow for the main part of the royal army after the victory of Newbury, but he had met with unlooked-for opposition, not of a personal character, but based on a difference of principle. His general, the Earl of Manchester, was a skilful soldier, but on the subject of the aims and merits of the war, his opinions were those of all the Parliamentary leaders, especially the Earl of Essex, who, belonging to the highest nobility, and having only torn himself away from his equals after severe mental struggles, had no idea of annihilating the King, or even of introducing a new constitution.

For this party the war was only a means—a heroic means, indeed—of compelling the King to constitutionalism, to which he would not be brought by friendly measures. A complete victory, therefore, over him, which would at the same time annihilate the monarchy, was considered by them to be a misuse of their arms, and a great evil.

At Newbury this had come plainly to light. Cromwell asked leave to attack the royal army in the rear with his cavalry brigade, proposing that the Earl, if he preferred it, should remain with the rest of the troops in inaction; but the Earl absolutely refused, giving no other reasons than that if beaten there would be an end of their demands, and that they would be at once executed as rebels and traitors.

Even if this answer expressed the whole truth, there was an idea of reconciliation and return at the bottom of it which Cromwell had long ago given up. Cromwell was resolved to put an end to these half measures. While amongst his enemies, the remote possibility of an indictment against him as a radical incendiary was under consideration; he was acting with so much skill, that his adversaries first learnt what his intentions were from the result.

On December 9th, 1644, the situation was discussed in Parliament. Cromwell rose, to give expression to the general discontent. The war had now been going on for two years; they had suffered many defeats, and gained but few victories; enormous sacrifices had been demanded in money, men, and property, yet as good as nothing was attained, for what was gained one day was lost the next; in winter they began to think how much blood had been shed in vain, how much money spent, and how much land devastated. The suffering people ascribed the blame to Parliament; and if it did not find a remedy all confidence in it would be lost. The people thought the great gentlemen in Parliament had no interest in bringing the war to a close; for so long as it lasted they were in power, and held important posts, but when it was over their glory would be at an end.

This talk, with which he did not agree, must be met. The war must be carried on in a different manner ; the army must be put on a fresh footing ; and, to render this possible, an act of self-denial was necessary for all those who were taking the lead, and, as true patriots, this would not appear to them as too great a sacrifice.

Before this, one of the "Saints," Henry Vane, had informed the House that all the preachers at the late festival had, by a wonderful concurrence, spoken from their pulpits against the members of Parliament remaining in their lucrative offices. This was the finger of God ; this was the work of the Holy Spirit ; Parliament should give an example of self renunciation ; besides, by the removal of so many members, the numbers in the House were impaired. Before the war he had himself held a lucrative office in the Treasury ; but he voluntarily resigned it, and he wished that others would do the same.

These were the preliminaries to the Self-denying Ordinance, which was passed after a vehement contest. It excluded all the members of both Houses from all civil and military offices. Before it was passed, Cromwell had attained his object. The Presbyterian generals, Essex, Warwick, Manchester, Denbigh, Waller, and others, had resigned. A stratagem was required to except Cromwell, who was both an officer and member of the Commons. During the discussions, Fairfax had him sent for to the army, and before long no one said any more on the subject.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

THE CATASTROPHE OF CHARLES AND OF THE PARLIAMENT.

Defeat of Charles at Naseby, June, 1645.—He takes refuge with the Scots, who sell him to the Presbyterians.—Mutiny of the Army against Parliament.—Abduction of the King.—March to London.—First Purge of Parliament, August, 1647.—The King's Flight to the Isle of Wight.—His Trial and Execution, January 30th, 1649.

DEFEAT AT NASEBY.—THE KING'S REFUGE WITH THE SCOTCH.—SOLD TO THE PRESBYTERIANS.—MUTINY OF THE ARMY AGAINST PARLIAMENT.—ABDUCTION OF THE KING, AND ENTRY INTO LONDON.

FROM this time the war and the military system of Parliament bear a totally different aspect. What had been begun by Cromwell on a small scale was carried on on a larger one. The whole army was inspired by the spirit of the Saints; the officers were intrusted with the duties of priests; preaching and psalm-singing were introduced into the camp, the wild doings of which a great part of the Parliamentary army had been guilty, in common with the Royalists, ceased; and, since Cromwell and Fairfax had held the command, it had been free from its previous lukewarmness.

With this strictly-disciplined army, in which a trust in God prevailed bordering on Mohammedan fatalism, Cromwell, to whom Fairfax was in fact subordinate, defeated the

Royalists at Naseby, on June 14th, 1645. After this day good fortune entirely forsook the King; one city and county was lost after another. Cromwell not only knew how to conquer, but to take advantage of his victories. He was always at the heels of the Royalists, and did not rest till the party was annihilated.

One prospect still opened before the unhappy King. The Scotch had become uneasy at the victories of the Independents. The fanatical Presbyterians feared the supremacy of the radical enthusiasts, and would have nothing to do either with their creed or their church constitution. The King was not in a position to retract any of his concessions to them; from the Independents, on the contrary, they had nothing to hope. Out of these elements the French ambassador combined a tempting picture, which the King was the less able to withstand, as since the spring of 1646, at Oxford, he had been daily expecting a blow from the hands of the enemy. Thus arose his resolution to take refuge with the remnant of his faithful followers in the Scotch camp.

On May 5th he appeared before Newark, followed by a Parliamentary decree, threatening any one with death who should harbour the fugitive King.

Agreeably surprised by this unexpected proof of royal confidence, the Scotch persuaded the King to give up his last weapons; they made him order all the royal garrisons which had hitherto held out against Fairfax and Cromwell to surrender to Parliament. This done, they negotiated with Parliament about a ransom for their royal captive. The cunning and worldly wisdom of the Scotch is proverbial; this act was even more than Scotch.

The war which they had undertaken, in order to make England Presbyterian, and to place the covenant on firm

ground, had, according to their reckoning, cost two millions, and the possession of the King furnished them with a means of indemnifying themselves. After long chaffering, they agreed to liberate the King for £400,000, half to be paid immediately, the rest in two instalments.

At first, even the Scotch Parliament felt the business to be so disgraceful that a resolution was passed that the King should be protected and his liberation insisted on ; but it was informed by the General Assembly that as the King had opposed the Covenant, his fate no longer concerned the "Saints," and so the transaction was completed.

Upon his journey from Scotch to English imprisonment, the King once more experienced the royalist sympathies of the masses. Sympathetic tears and exclamations accompanied him to Holdenby, where rough treatment awaited him, which only gave place to better, when English parties began to disagree about his fate.

It is difficult to say exactly what the Presbyterians intended to do with the King when he was in their power. The commissioners who had taken possession of him at Newark reverently kissed his hand ; but at Holdenby he was treated like an arrested criminal. His suite was dismissed, all intercourse with the outer world was cut off ; he was even deprived of his chaplains because they had not signed the covenant. One thing alone was certain amidst all these contradictions, that the Presbyterians who had the majority, both in and out of Parliament, did not desire a republic or abolition of monarchy, and therefore regarded the spirit of the Independent army as its worst foe.

They intended, therefore, before any further steps should be taken, in some way or other to get rid of this army.

In Parliament it was now said, "The war is over ; there is no longer a hostile army ; the treasury is exhausted ; why

keep a large army in the field for nothing, when there are no means to support it?" It was proposed to send some of the troops to Ireland, to dismiss others, and to keep only a small reserve in case of need. Once rid of the hosts of the Saints, the rest would arrange itself, and Parliament could discuss at ease what to do with the King and country.

But they were mistaken in thinking that they could so easily get rid of those who had won the victory, and had in the long struggle lost reverence, not for the King only.

Scarcely had the news of the plans of the majority reached the camp, through the Independents in Parliament, than the army began to move. Besides their large arrears of pay, the troops demanded not to be treated as Janissaries or hirelings, to be disposed of at pleasure without being consulted. The demands of the Saints were put together in a definite form in a petition to Fairfax, and as Parliament only met it with threats, open mutiny broke out. The camp became an opposition Parliament; the officers met as the Upper, the men as the Lower House, and passed independent resolutions in defence of their rights against the interference of the London Parliament. And when Parliament commanded that the troops who would not go to Ireland should be forthwith dismissed, the army not only refused obedience, but despatched a division of five hundred horse to Holdenby, seized the King in presence of the astonished parliamentary commissioner, and soon after Cromwell removed the whole army to St. Alban's.

With his hand on his sword, Cromwell demanded the dismissal and arrest of eleven members of Parliament who had been guilty of high treason—Hollis, Waller, and other leaders of the Presbyterian party were among them. Parliament demurred; but the eleven thought it best to with-

draw, and the army was so far pacified as to remain at St. Alban's.

It was, indeed, only a short delay of the catastrophe. Cromwell wished to avoid open violence, and proposed a circuitous path which, while making less commotion, would as surely lead to the goal.

During the panic of the last few days, when the news of the King's abduction had been quickly followed by that of the approach of the enraged Saints, and the Londoners expected to be given up to the fury of the soldiery, Parliament had one support—the city militia, who, from the first, had been true to the Presbyterians. It was to be deprived of this last weapon before the army set its foot upon its neck.

The army demanded that a change should be made with the militia, and especially that the Presbyterian commander should be dismissed. Parliament conceded this unheard-of demand; but the masses rose up, the apprentices and watermen of 1642 opposed these measures, and insisted that the resolution should be rescinded. It was now plain to the army, who were only waiting for such a pretext, that Parliament was not its own master, and that their advance must be eagerly desired; and when the speakers of both Houses, accompanied by eight peers and sixty of the Commons came and begged for help, there was no longer any delay.

Twenty thousand gloomy-looking Independents marched into the city and came to the rescue of Parliament on the 6th of August, 1647. There was no want of discipline in their conduct, but there was an end to the liberty of Parliament. All its recent acts were declared null and void; the militia were given over to the Independents, and some opponents who were specially compromised were arrested

and imprisoned. This was the first mutilation of this remarkable assembly. Professedly it was but a blow struck against the previous majority, but in reality parliamentaryism itself had received a fatal stroke. What was left of it existed only by favour of the army and its leaders.

The King also felt the effects of this event. Up to this time his imprisonment in camp had been less severe and more honourable than with the Presbyterians. Up to within a short time before his abduction he had been negotiating with them, and terms appeared likely to be made. He had been so well treated in the Independent camp that he thought himself courted by both parties, derived courage from the idea that they could not settle matters without him, and imagined that he should again be able to employ one against the other. He was shrewd enough to perceive that Cromwell belonged to the future, and tried to make advances to him ; offered him the command of the army, to make him a peer, a duke, &c. What Cromwell thought of all this we do not know. He probably did what he had great dexterity in doing—escaped these snares under the plea of rustic awkwardness, for he knew the King's cunning. One thing is certain, that continued intimacy with the King would have deprived him of his influence with the army, and that an intercepted despatch from the King to the Queen would have undeceived a man less shrewd than he was. In this the King said that it was his wish to unite not with the English army, but with the Scotch, the mortal enemies of the Independents. He should know how to rise against these fellows when the right time came. Instead of the garter—which he had promised to Cromwell,—there would be a hempen cord for them.

FLIGHT OF THE KING TO THE ISLE OF WIGHT.—THE SECOND CIVIL WAR (JULY—SEPTEMBER, 1648).—THE SECOND PURGE OF PARLIAMENT, DECEMBER, 1648.—TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF THE KING, 30TH OF JANUARY, 1649.

After Cromwell withdrew from the King, the Independent preachers raised an alarm against him; a threatening agitation arose, which increased daily. Forsaken by all, and in fear for his personal safety, during the night of the 11th of November the King escaped to the Isle of Wight.

This was highly imprudent. He did not thereby escape from his gaolers; for the governor of the island was Hampden's son-in-law, and Cromwell's most trusted ally, and he cut himself off from communication with his friends, thus proving anew that there was no reliance to be placed on his promises, that negotiation with him was vain. He might be recaptured at any moment, and would then be in the hands of doubly embittered enemies.

It had now become impossible for Charles to remain King of England. It would be to frustrate the whole significance and aim of the civil war to replace him upon the throne. But the great question was what should replace him, and the answer had not become any clearer.

There had, indeed, been a project for establishing a sort of interregnum—for persuading the King to abdicate, and of setting up a parliamentary regency in the name of the Prince of Wales. This plan also put the restoration of Charles out of the question, but it had long fallen into the background with the Independents as not going far enough. For them there no longer was a King.

On the 3rd of January, the motion was carried that no further message from the King need be received, and that he

no longer had any voice in the reorganization of the State. On this occasion Cromwell said that while the King was solemnly talking to them of peace, he was negotiating with the Scots in order to involve them in a fresh war.

It was not long before this fresh war really broke out. Fourteen thousand Scots attacked the country to fight for the King. The native Royalists held up their heads; disturbances broke out in the navy, and there were inflammable materials enough in the country to occasion a general conflagration. Even against the resolution in Parliament declaring the Scots to be enemies, there were ninety courageous votes.

In London all was quiet, but scarcely had the Independents advanced to meet the Royalists, when Parliament threw off the terrorism which had held it in check. The Presbyterians assumed the leadership again, recalled the eleven dismissed members, reversed the resolution of the 3rd of January, and renewed negotiations with the King in the Isle of Wight. With great difficulty, after long negotiations, a project of a treaty was formed, but by the time it was submitted to Parliament the situation of parties without was entirely changed.

All the revolts had in turn been quelled, and with 8,000 men Cromwell had attacked and cut in pieces the 30,000 Scots and Royalists.

The result was a peace, which put an end to the alliance for the King, and confirmed anew the union of the two kingdoms, 26th of September, 1648. The camp parliament of the Independents now resolved on their own account that the King should make amends for the blood that had been spilt, and that the Parliament had forfeited its right to existence by its treaty with Charles. But in spite of this, Parliament voted for the treaty with the King

by a hundred and twenty-nine against eighty-three, so there was a fresh "purge."

Early in the morning of the 6th of December, 1648, Westminster was surrounded by two regiments under the command of Colonel Pride, formerly a drayman, and they carried off forty-one Presbyterians. One hundred and sixty members more were excluded, and in the Parliament thus purged there were now but from fifty to sixty fanatics of the Independent sect.

It was now necessary to come to some decision about the King. Immediately after the resolution of the military Parliament, he had been brought from Newport and placed in more secure imprisonment. The question was what to do with him. To liberate him, especially after recent events, appeared to the Independents impossible. The King had made himself a terror to them by everything that makes a monarch dangerous. His unfathomable cunning, his oft-proved treachery, his talent for recovering himself after every defeat and setting one party against another; his imperturbable obstinacy on all questions connected with the royal authority, and the episcopal constitution; and finally the sympathies of the most powerful classes make it perfectly intelligible that the party which had won all the victories of the civil war, and could but look for fearful retribution on a restoration of the monarchy, had adopted the resolution, "Either he or we!"

The fate of England was in the hands of an army not composed of hirelings but of glowing patriots. They looked upon the King as the enemy of the country imprisoned with his weapon in his hand, and they asked themselves, "Which shall win?"

What Cromwell thought of this question we learn from a letter which he wrote at this time to his friend Governor

Hammond, in the Isle of Wight, under date of the 25th of November, 1648, in which he says among other things:—

“You say, ‘God hath appointed authorities among the nations, to whom active or passive obedience is to be yielded. This resides in England in the Parliament. Therefore active or passive resistance,’ &c.

“Authorities and powers are the ordinances of God; but I do not, therefore, think the authorities may do *anything*, and yet such obedience be due. All agree that there are cases in which it is lawful to resist. The query is, whether ours be such a case.

“To this I shall say nothing, but only desire thee to see that thou findest in thy own heart to two or three plain considerations. First, whether *Salus Populi* be a sound position, or if (secondly) the whole fruit of the war is not like to be frustrated, and all most like to turn to what it was, and worse? and this contrary to engagements, explicit covenants, with those who ventured their lives upon those covenants and engagements. Thirdly, whether this army be not a lawful power called by God to oppose and fight against the King upon some stated grounds. Let us look into providences; surely they mean somewhat. They hang so together, have been so constant, so clear, unclouded. Malice, sworn malice against God’s people, now called “Saints,” to root out their name; and yet they—‘these poor Saints’—getting arms, and therein blessed with defence, and more! If the Lord have in any measure persuaded his people, as generally he hath, of the lawfulness, nay of the *duty*—this persuasion prevailing upon the heart is faith, and the acting thereupon is acting in faith; and the more the difficulties are the more the faith.”*

Cromwell had, as we know without this testimony, accus-

* Carlyle, Cromwell’s Letters and Speeches.

tomed himself, without any self-deception, to the idea that it was not a case for a judicial sentence, but of measures of defence, and for the public good. It was in this light that it was looked at by him and his army, and he laid no claim to any other law. This dangerous man must be rendered harmless, and that he would not be so long as he lived.

It was not a trial that was begun during the last few days of the old year and the beginning of the new, but a court martial held by the army on a traitor imprisoned sword in hand.

The attempt to carry on the proceedings in a constitutional manner failed. The accusations made by the Rump Parliament, January 1st, 1649—high treason, by overthrowing the laws of the land and instigation of civil war—was indignantly rejected by the Lords. The Speaker, who was to have been one of the judges, declared that he would rather be torn in pieces than take part in so reckless a proceeding.

There was, therefore, nothing left for the Commons but to proclaim a new revolutionary law, which was done January 4th. It declared that under God, the people are the source of legitimate power, that the power of the Commons in Parliament assembled is supreme, that the people are bound to obey whatever is declared to be law by them, even without the consent of the King or the Peers.

On January 20th, Charles Stuart, as he was now called, appeared before the tribunal, under the accusation of being a tyrant, a murderer, a traitor, and the enemy of his country. Since he had been brought to London, he had vacillated between fear of assassination and the hope of being set free at the last moment through the disputes of parties among themselves, but for what now happened he was not prepared. He had thought that it would not go so far as a

legal trial, were it but the shadow of it, before all the world. But he soon controlled himself, and adopted the only right course. He behaved like a King who is in the right, who can be put to death, but not humbled. "I die as a martyr," he used to say, and to the last he behaved like a witness to monarchical constitutional law, as opposed to the victorious revolution.

He did not defend himself, for he was not before judges. Every word that he uttered was a protest against the proceedings to which he was subjected. He interrupted the secretary who read the words that the legal power was intrusted to him, by saying that he was King by hereditary right, and asked him what right had he before whom he was brought, to try him. This was on the first day of the trial. On the second day, when he was about to answer in the same style, he was not allowed to speak, and nothing was left for him but to write down in prison what he wished to say. In these observations he distinctly said that he could easily have refuted every word of the accusation, but that that would have been to acknowledge the tribunal, and to deny the ancient principle of constitutional law, according to which "the King can do no wrong."

Sentence of death was passed on the 25th of January, and the execution followed on the 30th.

CHAPTER XLIX.

THE COMMONWEALTH, WITHOUT KING OR HOUSE OF LORDS.

Cromwell's Position after the Death of Charles I.—Parties, Republic and Monarchy.—Subjugation of Ireland and Scotland, 1649–51.—War with Holland.—The Navigation Act, October, 1651, and the Peace of April, 1654.—The Constitutional Experiments.—Dismissal of the Long Parliament.—The Constitution of December, 1653.—The Parliament of 1654–5 and the Military Government.—The Parliament of 1656–7.—Proposal of a Monarchy.—The Upper House of January, 1658.—Cromwell's Death, September 3rd, 1658.—Richard Cromwell and the end of the Republic.

CROMWELL'S POSITION AFTER THE DEATH OF CHARLES I. —STATE OF PARTIES, REPUBLIC AND MONARCHY.

THE whole history of Cromwell's reign shows how little the King's death was adapted to free the new Government from embarrassment. The difficulties which it was supposed were got rid of, were not got rid of ; and the King's death advanced the cause of his adherents more than that of the Independents.

It is not, however, a parallel case with the murder of Louis XVI. In the one case, the King wanted to annihilate the ancient constitutions of the country, in the other, the King had voluntarily resigned his formerly absolute power; in the one case a man was put to death who deserved pity rather than fear or hatred, whilst Charles I. was a foe almost

more dangerous from his virtues than his faults. Louis was a helpless prisoner, slaughtered like a victim; Charles might be considered to have challenged his foes to fight against him. The differences of the times must also be taken into account. The seventeenth century was far less sensitive, even about the lives of princely personages than the philosophical age of humanity.

But murder was still murder. Even Cromwell did not deceive himself as to the fact that he had no right to judge the King. It was an exceptional measure, which did not annihilate the monarchy. On the contrary, the murder of 1649 awoke it to new life. England was, far more than the France of 1790, a monarchical country. Even after the removal of the King, a great deal remained which made the monarchy indestructible. Its existence for centuries, the growth of the country with it, its many pillars in the Upper House, and in the hierarchy, and among the land-owning nobility. The head of it might be abolished, and tailors and shoemakers made into peers, but the old preponderance of the large estates was not thereby got rid of. The State Church might be deprived of its temporal and ecclesiastical privileges, yet it would still be one of the mightiest factors in the country, which could only be done away with by a massacre, and for all these elements the King's death was a day of excitement and encouragement. The great majority of the English nobles now formed a passive opposition, which would not lightly endanger themselves by violent measures, but bided their time, and gradually left Cromwell in isolation. It was the same with the English State Church, a power that might be repressed, but not crushed. The masses were never gained over to oppose her. I am, therefore, of opinion that if by the death of the King, Cromwell thought to give a fatal blow to the monarchy, he utterly

failed of his purpose ; he only conferred on it the glory of martyrdom, which caused its sins and mistakes to be forgotten, and prepared for it a glorious restoration in the future. I do not imagine that the return of the Stuarts would have been greeted with such feverish enthusiasm had not the nation been burdened with the consciousness that there was a fearful deed between them, that they had to atone for the murder of a King. Just so I think that had it not been for the death of Louis XVI. the Bourbons would never have been restored in France.

A republican constitution was introduced, but it had no foundation in the condition and sentiments of the people. Cromwell had to rule with the minority of the nation, as represented by the fifty thousand Saints. It was the result of this false position that he projected schemes the impossibility of which he best knew himself. It is noteworthy that he gradually withdrew from his own party as he more and more plainly saw its untenable position.

But just then he was the only man who knew how to govern England. No other party had a more competent man, and no opponent had a party which could be compared to his. And the remarkable thing is how rapidly he adapted himself to his high position—how firmly the Huntingdonshire farmer maintained himself at the head of three kingdoms amidst perpetual struggles for existence.

Above all, he restrained the excrescences which had appeared in this, as in every revolution. Even among this calm and sober people there were fanatics, and they were dangerous to Cromwell because they had in some measure infected the army. The stragglers in every great revolution—people who preached the abolition of marriage, property, and all social distinctions—appeared here also, but with this difference, that the crimes which generally go hand-in-

hand with this nonsense did not prevail. The teaching of the Levellers* was nothing more than programme and attempt when Cromwell interfered. He had himself risen out of the revolution, held his authority as a fief from it, and yet he restrained it. This was the first test of his genius as a ruler, and in his situation it was more difficult than in the France of 1793.

This symptom of beginning dissolution of his own party demanded all the more speedy interference, as the Royalist party was essentially strengthened since the death of Charles. Since the 30th of January, 1649, it had withdrawn in deep embitterment, but there were many indications that it was quietly gathering up its strength, and that when a favourable opportunity occurred, it would not shun an open breach with Cromwell. It had been joined more and more by the Presbyterian party. It was the Presbyterians who had begun the contest with absolute monarchy, and carried it on for years; but they had no more idea of putting an end to monarchy itself than of putting the King to death, and openly expressed their abhorrence of the act. Cromwell had never had much support in the provinces; not a single county could be named in which the Independents ruled supreme. That independent spirit which had often made itself heard against the King, without intending to impugn the monarchy itself, was sure now to be directed against Cromwell, and the more so as the new form of government was opposed to all the traditions of the country.

Thus Cromwell could only rely for support upon the army of 50,000 men, and this was a two-edged weapon. With all its military discipline, this army was but an armed body of men who had their own views upon questions of Church and State, had maintained them in

* See Ranke, iii. 328.

many a fearful trial, and probably intended to stand up for them in the future with equal fanaticism. Cromwell might dictate laws to Europe, but still he was bound to his 50,000 Saints; and he knew perfectly well that they were no cheaply-bought soldiery, who would have been just as ready to have obeyed their successful leader as king, but a republican party under arms, full of the wildest fanaticism. A time came when it was expected abroad, by the Stuarts, and even by the Royalists, that Cromwell would have accepted the Crown offered him by Parliament, but the 50,000 Saints would not suffer it. They stood in the foreground, confronted him with the spectre of the beheaded King, and the old democratic banner—he declined the crown. More prudent than many others in a similar situation, he calculated his means, and took care not to go beyond them.

He wished to establish a permanent civil administration, but his only support was a military force which did not comport with it; he wished, in fact, to form an English constitution which should reconcile the old aristocratic structure with the new democratic doctrines; but all his attempts were frustrated by his antecedents. He was himself the man to shake off the narrow limits of his party, but they could not be persuaded to any compromise. The elements for a republic were wanting in the nation, and he was not the man for the monarchy.

But amidst these vast difficulties he went his way with astonishing firmness, as if no care or cloud hung over him; and we must continually recur to his modest origin to estimate rightly his extraordinary talents. To add to the internal difficulties of his position, Ireland was unsubdued, Scotland in open rebellion. The three kingdoms, therefore, were thoroughly at variance. In Scotland, the King's death had been the signal for the revolt of the Royalist party, and

Cromwell had to wage two fearful wars before he could think of establishing a civil administration. He succeeded in doing what the Stuarts had never done ; he subjugated all three kingdoms, and ruled them as no King had done before him.

SUBJUGATION OF IRELAND AND SCOTLAND.—WAR WITH
HOLLAND.

During the last four years, Ireland had been the scene of various widely-differing projects. In 1645, a Papal nuncio, Rinuccini, had arrived, who laboured with much success to promote a Catholic restoration and separation from England ; but after the death of the King, a Presbyterian, Lord-Lieutenant Ormond, had succeeded in bringing about a Royalist coalition between Catholics and Protestants, English and Irish, to revenge themselves on the Independents for the death of Charles I. This coalition ruled the whole island, and was in possession of all the fortresses.

In 1649, Cromwell set out to oppose them with a select troop of his veterans—as usual, after spiritual preparation for the enterprise. In this case, as against the Scots, his virtuosoship consisted in inflaming the religious enthusiasm of his Saints, and their hatred of royal tyranny to such a degree, that their feelings may be compared to the fatalistic valour of the Islam armies in their prime.

The campaign against the Green Isle, which was begun in the middle of August, was a brilliant one. Three of the most important fortresses were taken on the first assault, and merciless sentence passed upon the vanquished enemy. Cromwell reports with pride how thousands of Irish were cut down for the greater glory of God. It seemed as if it was intended, not only to annihilate the enemy, but the whole population. Cromwell was summoned to Scotland

before he could complete the subjection of the island ; it was left to his successor, Ireton.

This much was immediately attained, Ormond's coalition was destroyed. The English went over in masses to the camp of the Independents, while the Irish alone were subjected to this war of extermination. Ireton behaved if possible more relentlessly than Cromwell ; and out of the victories of these two men arose the new administration of Ireland, that military dictatorship which distributed its fruitful lands among the Saints of the English army, and left nothing to the inhabitants but emigration or beggary.

The ruling party of the Presbyterians in Scotland had replied to the news of the beheading of Charles I. by the proclamation of Charles II. as King of Great Britain, and at once entered into negotiations with him at the court of his brother-in-law, William II., in Holland. He responded to the appeal, but with mixed feelings, for the proffered crown was not to be had for nothing. He was to sign the Covenant, and renounce all those prerogatives for which his father had contended up to the time when he laid his head on the scaffold. In temporal matters he was to be subject to Parliament ; in ecclesiastical ones to the General Assembly. The one was as much opposed to his convictions as the other ; but the Scots spared him no humiliations when he sought evasions. He had to sign a declaration, in which he condemned his parents for the idolatry which had called down the wrath of God upon their family. If he refused, he would be given up to the Independents, as his father had been.

The Scotch now created an army, which was as purely Presbyterian as that of their enemies was Independent ; and in the summer of 1650 the war began.

On his invasion of Scotland, Cromwell found himself at

first in a situation similar to that of the army of the League in Bohemia, in 1620. He longed for a speedy decision; his army was suffering from sickness and famine, and the enemy was encamped behind fortified walls, without, at first, allowing himself to be seen in the open field.

At the beginning of September, after a fruitless march to Edinburgh, he arrived with his famished, demoralised troops near Dunbar. On the heights near, lay the Scots, far superior in numbers. Their leader, Leslie, was justly of opinion that victory might be gained without a battle by gradually manœuvring the Independents, who were not in possession of a single secure position, out of the country. But the General Assembly, in its short-sighted zeal, was of a different opinion. It had made the discovery around the green table that the enemy was caught in the trap, and that to let him escape would be to deprive God's cause of its laurels.

So they gave Cromwell the satisfaction of offering battle. As they advanced, he exclaimed, "They are coming down; Heaven has given them into our hands!"

The conflict began early in the morning of the 3rd of September. Before sunrise, Cromwell threw himself with an irresistible bound upon the right wing of the enemy, while the left wing was held fast by a cannonade, and he gained a complete victory early in the day.

The Scotch army was almost annihilated, and several towns—Edinburgh among them—fell into the hands of the victors. Cromwell was in the way to conquer the whole country; he was already at Perth, in the heart of Scotland, when Charles II. formed the bold project of advancing with his army, which he had with difficulty re-assembled, to England, to threaten the enemy in the very seat of his power.

On the 1st of August, 1651, he appeared with about 11,000 men on the other side of the English boundary,

expecting a general revolt of the discontented counties and their royalist aristocracy. But he was mistaken. Some isolated revolts did, indeed, take place, and he reached Worcester without meeting with any opposition; the city even welcomed him; but the masses did not stir, and whenever there were any symptoms of it they were immediately put down by the Independents.

Charles's cause was lost before Cromwell arrived. Cromwell again defeated him at Worcester, and the Royalist revolt was at an end. Scotland was quiet for a long time, though not really pacified.

It is an honourable testimony to the steadfast character of the English people, that opposition did not cease to a system whose representative they admired, but the principles of which they condemned, in spite of all the successes of the Independents. Perhaps Cromwell's manifest inclination to elate the people by brilliant foreign enterprises arose partly from this fact, for that had been the weak point with the Stuarts. His idea might be to divert the nation from its unsatisfactory domestic politics.

This did not prevent his being daily threatened with attempts at assassination, so that he had to carry loaded pistols about him. But his foreign policy was of that nature, that even the sworn enemies of his system, if they had a spark of national pride, could not fail to be carried away with it, and to acknowledge that the great Puritan had accomplished what no legitimate monarch had done before him. After his arms had subjugated the three kingdoms, he began to contend for the dominion of the seas. His brother in the faith, Robert Blake,* transferred the spirit of Puritan warfare to the navy, drove the royalist

* Robert Blake, Admiral and General-at-Sea: based on family and State papers. By Hepworth Dixon, 1858.

corsairs, Prince Rupert and Prince Maurice, before him, humbled Portugal, and, after a long struggle, conquered Holland—the great maritime state of the age. England entered into the northern coalition, joined France in an alliance against Spain, and soon there was no complication in Europe, great or small, in which Cromwell did not take part. He made himself the guardian of definite interests on the Continent. Protestantism had a strong support in him. He even interposed at Turin, to gain more liberty for some Waldensian communities in Savoy. Even Louis XIV. did not refuse his homage. It went against him to address the murderer of his uncle as “*Mon cousin* ;” but he said to his minister, “And even if you had to call him ‘*Mon père*,’ you would be obliged to do it, for he is the most powerful man in Europe.”

The diplomatic representatives of the young republic had not met with a friendly reception anywhere abroad ; but at the Hague and Madrid they had been received with open enmity. Scotch emigrants at the former had assassinated the English ambassador, Dorea, in May, 1649 ; and in the following year, at Madrid, an agent of Parliament had also been murdered by Englishmen as he sat with loaded pistols at table, and in both places public opinion had sided with the murderers. From the connection between the house of Orange and the Stuarts it was not to be expected, if the former retained any influence, that it would fall into the scale of the republic. While the Spanish Government interposed with some severity about the murder of the ambassador, the court of Orange became the centre of all sorts of intrigues against the republic, and permitted the new ambassador, St. John, to be publicly ill used. Although they had themselves risen out of revolution, the Orange family behaved as if they had been the oldest legitimate

power in Europe. Cromwell had least of all expected this from Holland. He had projected an alliance, offensive and defensive, between the two republics, a common policy of their Protestant and republican interests against the encroaching system of absolute Catholic monarchy.

But there was no inclination for this in Holland; they only beheld in Cromwell the dangerous rival on the seas, whose supremacy would only have been strengthened by such a league.

The little naval war with Holland was already going on, when a step was taken by England of the utmost fundamental and practical importance.

The Navigation Act of 1651, without mentioning Holland by name, struck a mortal blow at her commerce. It consisted, with very little exception, of the exchange of wares produced not at home but in foreign countries. The Navigation Act now ruled that all wares from abroad could only be carried in English ships, under pain of confiscation of the ship and cargo; all goods from the Continent only in English ships, or in those of the country producing them.

The Dutch colonial and transit trade was by this measure entirely cut off by the English market. This was the occasion of the following war; and so useful a measure was it for England, that it was only a few years ago that she dispensed with this crutch. There was no better means of establishing England's supremacy—maritime and commercial—and it did, in fact, lay the foundation of England's greatness. The Dutch still had the first fleet in the world, the best ships of war, the greatest naval heroes of the age; and yet fate would have it that the admired admirals—Van Tromp, De Ruyter, De Witt—had to strike their sails before a hitherto unknown sailor, Robert Blake.

The war began with the seizure of Dutch merchant

ships, soon reaching the number of a thousand, and was decided by a number of naval engagements, greater or less, in the course of which the Dutch Armada was nearly annihilated. The three days' engagement between Portland and La Hogue, February, 1653, and that of two days near Dunkirk, June, 1653, showed that the supremacy of the young English fleet was indisputable. The Peace of April, 1654, was dictated by Cromwell. Holland had to submit to the Navigation Act, to renounce the favour of the Stuarts, and attach itself to Cromwell's policy.

These were feats which not only won transitory fame, they were lasting achievements; from this naval war dates the position of the English fleet; from this Peace the undisputed sovereignty of England over the seas.

Cromwell had formed a just estimate of the importance of this policy to his domestic system. He had no need to enter into many considerations by which legitimate powers were hampered, but he must not expose himself to discredit: his reputation was his sole title-deed; it must be kept clear as the day.

In all these difficult complications, by a singular combination of skill and good fortune, he was successful, with one exception, in the establishment of a permanent civil domestic administration.

CROMWELL'S CONSTITUTIONAL EXPERIMENTS.—DISMISSAL OF THE LONG PARLIAMENT.—THE CONSTITUTION OF DECEMBER, 1653.

The "Commonwealth without King or Lords," as the Republic was officially styled, was at first governed by a Council of State composed of forty-one members, the majority of whom were in Parliament, and this ruled in accordance with the regulations of the Rump, the remnant

of the Long Parliament. The Council of State was entirely in Cromwell's hands; but the Rump Parliament chose to have a will of its own, and was a source of perpetual embarrassment to him. As long as the war had lasted against the Royalists in Scotland and Ireland, no great discord had come to light. In February, 1652, both parties had joined in an amnesty, but soon decided differences arose out of various small discontents; war broke out more and more between the army and Parliament. Parliament wished to get rid of the inconvenient and now superfluous Saints, the army was tired of the everlasting speech-makers, and was disposed to disperse them by force, as they had done twice before.

Parliament no longer enjoyed any credit either with the army or the nation. Even at the time when the Purge took place by means of the army, the doings of the assembly were universally hated, and the army's *coup d'état* had been very popular.

There were still fifty or sixty members of the old Parliament left, and their harsh and self-seeking administration remained just as it was. A number of petitions poured in, general discontent made itself heard about the way in which members of Parliament managed the confiscated estates for their own benefit or that of their relations, the number of unworthy officials sent by Parliament into the provinces to look after the interests of their own relations, the injustice of the Presbyterians, &c.

The army took up all these grievances, and, in stormy addresses, demanded the dismissal of these wrong-headed representatives of the country. Cromwell permitted these sentiments to increase till the question was ripe for interference.

At first he tried in Parliament itself, with the help of the votes in his favour, to carry motions adapted to get rid of

this inconvenient Assembly. On the 13th of November, 1652, he succeeded in this by a motion which set a definite limit to the existence of this everlasting Parliament. But they could not come to any agreement as to the laws by which the future House was to be constituted.

The Assembly wished to insure the re-election of its members into the new Parliament, the army and Cromwell wished for an entirely new House. They were involved in a dispute ostensibly upon this point or that ; but really about the executive power and their own existence.

The discussion of the election laws took a course which the army could but consider very unfavourable ; it began to consider that it was itself the only true Parliament, and had more than once decidedly interfered as such.

In April, 1653, the breach took place.

On receiving intelligence that the decisive question was to be discussed on the morning of the 20th of April, Cromwell entered Parliament, and had the approaches to the House occupied by the military. During the debate, he rose and gave the assembly a catalogue of its sins, and finally informed them that they were no longer a Parliament ; that they had proved themselves unworthy of the name, and must immediately leave the room. The doors then opened, the musketeers entered and dispersed the assembly.

Cromwell now summoned an assembly of notables, as it would have been called in France, from amongst his own party. This was the Short, or Bare-bone Parliament, so called, which met at Whitehall, 144 in number, in July, 1653.

The flower of the Independent sect had seats in it, and their doings were in unison with the spirit of this party. The Short Parliament does not deserve the sport which is made of it by nearly all parties in England.* Its attempts

* For a just estimate of it, see Ranke, iii. 417.

at reform were radical and thorough, and, though only partially successful, they were meant in earnest, and struck at all the real existing grievances in England. The attacks upon the chaos of English law and criminal proceedings, regulations about debtors, the establishment of the principle of civil marriage, the attack upon ecclesiastical tithes—all this proves a praiseworthy zeal to advance the interests of the nation.

But these projects occasioned fearful embitterment amongst all classes of the people, and Cromwell saw that by changes so radical he would lose his last support in the nation ; but a programme was put forth for future times which was not in vain.

Discord broke out in the assembly, and Cromwell's musketeers were again of service. A project for a constitution was put forth by a minority of the notables, who, however, had the army on its side, by which the assembly placed the supreme power in the hands of a Lord Protector of the Republic, and conferred this dignity on Cromwell.

The constitution of December, 1653, bears less the stamp of a revolutionary period than might have been expected. Circumstances like those which then existed are not generally adapted for the formation of good constitutions, but this one, considering the way in which it arose, was a very commendable work, and contains much that the Whigs to this day look upon as progress.

The Lord Protectorate was a constitutional office, limited by the army and Parliament, and was specially distinguished from the monarchical dignity by the fact that it was not hereditary.

Law and justice were to be administered in the name of the Lord Protector. He distributed offices and dignities, had the right of pardon, except for murder and high treason,

and all confiscated property fell to him. In all other cases he was bound to the Council and Parliament.

The Council of State consisted of twenty-five members, and was chiefly composed of military men. The Protector could neither nominate nor dismiss any member of it at his own pleasure. When vacancies occurred he had to choose in accordance with the proposals of the Council. It was only in unison with the Council that he could decide on questions of war and peace, or form alliances, dispose of the army, or proclaim regulations as provisional laws. They also nominated the Lord Protector's successor.

The power of making laws belonged exclusively to Parliament, against the statutes of which the Protector's veto only had a delaying power; all bills were to receive his sanction, but if it was not given within twenty days, they became law without it.

The standing army was to consist of 20,000 foot and 10,000 horse. The Protector had an absolute veto upon the diminution of the means once voted for their support.

Parliament was to meet regularly every three years. Should the Protector not keep to this rule, the Council was to summon it, and, in case they also neglected to do so, the sheriffs of the counties, under pain of high treason. During the first five months of its meeting an ordinary Parliament could only be prorogued or dissolved with its own consent; an extraordinary one, after three months.

Parliament was to number four hundred members for England, thirty for Scotland, thirty for Ireland. The election laws secured, as far as possible, an equal representation of the classes possessing property; every one had a vote, and was eligible for election who possessed £200 of movable or immovable property, except Catholics and rebels, who had fought against Parliament.

Rotten boroughs were disfranchised. The counties had 261 seats in Parliament, and were more uniformly represented than has been the case before or since. The fault of this constitution was not that it was too liberal. The Whigs have often said, in relation to it, that their ideal also was a State without a House of Lords, or a State Church, based upon universal suffrage. No; the mistake was that, according to this constitution, Cromwell governed only with a democratic minority, while the powerful aristocratic factors of the previous Upper House and the offended State Church remained in the background. It was a question whether these elements were not strong enough, without taking part in Parliament, to render the whole system untenable by passive resistance.

It was evidently a relief to Cromwell when the Constitution was solemnly inaugurated. On the 16th of December, as holder of the new dignity, he received the homage of the heads of the State amidst great pomp, took the oath to the Constitution, and had the sword and great seal delivered to him. The ceremony was much like an enthronement: he was lord of the three kingdoms, as no king had been before him; the title only was wanting to make him the equal of sovereigns.

Then followed the glorious year 1654: the brilliant peace with Holland, the humiliation of Portugal, the treaties with Sweden and Denmark, by which a projected coalition against England was frustrated; in short, the beginning of a commanding position on the Continent.

Cromwell now summoned his first constitutional Parliament for the 3rd of September, the anniversary of the victories at Dunbar and Worcester.

The elections were perfectly free; there was no limitation imposed, or even allowable influence used by the Govern-

ment; and as the Royalists, either from shyness or timidity, kept in the background, the votes were given to purely democratic elements.

THE PARLIAMENT OF 1654-5 AND THE MILITARY GOVERNMENT.

On September 3rd, 1654, Parliament met. Cromwell delivered a proud speech. None of his utterances of this kind are of the stiff and formal character of modern times; they were the effusions of a man, not of the schools, but of deeds, who, as he himself once said, considered it to be his mission to "speak things." He often lost himself in misty reflections, or in edifying exposition of passages of Scripture; but on all decisive questions, the sound sense of this wonderfully-gifted man was conspicuous. It was especially the case with this speech.

Cromwell spoke of the errors of the last Parliament, of the desires of the Levellers, who wanted to turn things upside down, and who therefore could not be allowed to continue in power.

He said:—"As to the authority in the nation—to the ranks and orders of men, whereby England hath been known for hundreds of years—the 'natural' magistracy of the nation, was it not almost trampled underfoot by men of levelling principles? I beseech you, did not that levelling principle tend to the reducing of all to an equality? which I think, if obtained, would not have lasted long! And that the thing did and might well extend far is manifest, because it was a pleasing voice to all poor men, and truly not unwelcome to all bad men. . . . Such considerations and pretensions to 'liberty of conscience,' what are they leading us toward? Liberty of conscience and liberty of the subject,—two as glorious things to be contended for

as any that God hath given us ; yet both these abused for the patronising of villanies ! Insomuch, that it hath been an ordinary thing to affirm, 'that the restraining of such pernicious notions was not in the magistrate's power.' So, likewise, the axe was laid to the root of the ministry. 'It was Antichristian ; it was Babylonish,' said they. . . . The former extremity we suffered under was, that no man, though he had never so good a testimony, though he had received gifts from Christ, might preach unless ordained. So now, I think, we are at the other extremity, when many affirm that he who is ordained hath a nullity, so that he ought not to preach, or not be heard." *

Against these and other ruinous excrescences a remedy had been found in the Constitution which might speak for itself, but which must not be interfered with.

He then glanced at the foreign relations of the Republic, mentioned the honourable treaties which had been concluded with Sweden, Denmark, Holland, and Portugal, while a similar one with France was in prospect. "And," he said, "I daresay there is not a nation in Europe but is very willing to ask a good understanding with you." He concluded, among other things, with the words, "As I said before, a door of hope is open. And I may say this to you : If the Lord's blessing and his presence go along with the management of affairs at this meeting, you will be enabled to put the top-stone to the work, and make this nation happy." †

At first Cromwell's hearers were affected by his lofty modesty ; but then the democratic spirit of the majority felt repulsed by the advice to abide by what had been

* Cromwell's Letters and Speeches, vol. iii. p. 21, &c. (abridged).

† Ibid., p. 35.

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I say, the enemies of the peace of these nations abroad and at home, the discontented humours throughout these nations, by which products I think no man will grudge to call by that name, of briers and thorns,—they have nourished themselves under your shadow! They have taken their opportunities from your sitting to conclude that there would be no settlement?" *

After a long and severe lecture in this tone he dissolved the Parliament.

The Royalists looked on with no little satisfaction. To see the great Independent at variance with his own party, the new order of things overturned at the very outset, was more than they had hoped for. They thought that the harvest was ripe. Conspiracies were set on foot, a great revolt was prepared, when Cromwell interposed with his usual energy and usual success. The democrats also began to stir; an adventurer preached in the streets of London that the traitor should be got rid of, and a pamphlet came out called "Killing no Murder."

But Cromwell was a match for his enemies, and it is interesting to observe how he proceeds. The Royalist leaders were treated with all the severity of the law; they were executed, and their misguided accomplices were treated with comparative leniency; precisely the way in which a ruler in such circumstances should act. Against his old democratic foes he could not restrain a certain amount of irritation; they were tried, imprisoned, and afterwards privately released.

A more strict domestic administration was introduced. The country was divided into thirteen districts, each under the command of a Major-general, who was intrusted with extensive authority.

* Letters and Speeches, p. 76.

In each of these thirteen districts a militia was levied under command of the Major-general, and supported by an income-tax of a tenth imposed upon the Royalists. This militia maintained order and security in town and country, and put a strict moral discipline in force after the fashion of Calvinistic Geneva. Themselves subjected to a relentless discipline, they saw that the laws against drunkenness, cursing, and swearing were strictly carried out. All public-houses not absolutely indispensable were suppressed, horse-racing, cock-fighting, and plays forbidden.

Each district thus had its own independent militia, and a trustworthy general as governor; such a government could not be surprised by any *coup d'état* from the right or the left.

To Cromwell's honour it must be said that, under the form of military despotism, he ruled as liberally as possible, and that the warfare which he was obliged to wage to the end did not make him hardened or gloomy.

Above all things, under him the nation enjoyed a liberty of conscience which was before unknown; this raises him high above all parties.

In 1656, he could say to Parliament, "Our practice since the last Parliament hath been to let all this nation see that whatever pretensions to religion would continue quiet, peaceable, they should enjoy conscience and liberty to themselves; and *not* to make religion a pretence for arms and blood. If men will profess,—be they those under Baptism, be they those of the Independent judgment simply, or of the Presbyterian judgment,—in the name of God encourage them, countenance them; so long as they do plainly continue to be thankful to God, and to make use of the liberty given them to enjoy their own consciences! Men who believe in Jesus Christ, and walking in a profes-

sion answerable to that faith, who live upon the grace of God—they are the members of Jesus Christ, and are to Him the apple of his eye. Whoever hath this Faith, let his form be what it will, he walking peaceably, without prejudice to others under other forms ; it is a debt due to God and Christ. If a man of one form will be trampling upon the heels of another form ; if an Independent, for example, will despise him who is under Baptism, I will not suffer it in him. If, on the other side, those of the Anabaptist judgment shall be censuring the Godly ministers of the nation who profess under that of Independency, or if those that profess under Presbytery shall be reproaching, traducing, and censuring of them as I would not be willing to see the day when England shall be in the power of the Presbytery, to impose upon the consciences of others—so I will not endure any reproach to them. But God give us hearts and spirits to keep things *equal*. I have had some boxes on the ear and rebukes—on the one hand and the other ; some censuring me for Presbytery ; others as an inletter to all the sects and heresies of the nation. I have borne my reproach ; but I have, through God's mercy, not been unhappy in hindering any one religion to impose upon another." *

Cromwell did not abolish the strict laws against the Catholics, because as a party backed by the Jesuits they could but be always the enemies of his system ; but he administered them leniently, or did not enforce them when the Catholics fulfilled the duties of good citizens. Jews, also, and Quakers, enjoyed his clemency, which was quite in contrast to the general practice of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

It also appeared to be his wish to show, by the liberty of

* Letters and Speeches, vol. iii. p. 181.

the press and the election laws, that in spite of his usurped power, and the severe forms under which it was often exercised, England enjoyed more liberty under him than under many a government before him and around him. He often used to say to the Democrats, "Patience; when I am no more you will see what sort of liberty the Stuarts will give you."

Characters like his, amidst such bitter experience, often become harsh, defiant, and misanthropic; but Cromwell seemed to be softened rather than embittered by it; and it is one of the great features in the character of the man, that, rising to European greatness from a modest position, he proved himself no less able to bear success than misfortune and trial.

All that is great and glorious in a gifted nation found in him a zealous protector; learning flourished under him, and the great poet and thinker, John Milton, was among his most intimate friends.

PARLIAMENT OF 1656-7.—PROPOSAL OF A MONARCHY.—
CROMWELL'S DEATH, SEPTEMBER 3RD, 1658.

A new Parliament became necessary to provide means for the war which Cromwell had undertaken, in conjunction with France, against Spain. He had caused Penn to set sail for America, and Blake to the Spanish waters, with despotic powers. The Spaniards had laid an embargo on the English ships, and thereby inflicted great injury on the commerce of England before any compensating advantage had accrued; for the immense sacrifices demanded by the war, neither the ordinary resources, nor the tax upon the Royalists, sufficed. He therefore resolved to summon a new Parliament.

He hoped that having taken a lesson from the fate of its

predecessor, it would take a view of things more favourable to him. The elections did in fact turn out better, and even the Royalists began to be more reconciled both to him and his system.

Parliament was opened on the 17th of September, 1656. It was of importance for the money question that just then Blake and Montague had the good fortune to capture a fleet of Spanish ships in Portuguese waters, laden with silver, which yielded a booty of a million sterling.

The house was divided into two very decided parties—a republican-military and a constitutional one ; which last, in order to put an end to uncertainty, perpetual conspiracies and outrages, projected the establishment of a new monarchy.

At the beginning of the year 1657, the proposal was made that the Lord Protector should conform to the ancient monarchical constitution, and exchange the title of a republican official for that of King. The proposal came from Cromwell's friends ; and in spite of the loud murmurs of the majors-general, the motion was carried for a change in the constitution towards a monarchical form.

A monarchy could not be created on the basis of the democratic constitution of 1653. It was necessary to go further—to restore the Upper House, to try to attract once more the aristocratic elements in the country ; and when the great landowning interest was again represented in the government, it might be hoped that the monarchy itself would take root. This was also Cromwell's idea. He had succeeded in much in which previous governments had failed. If he could now succeed also in giving fresh support to his work by restoring their rights to the old conservative elements—the nobles and the State Church, thereby reconciling them to himself and his system, he might hope that it was founded for future times.

Let it not be supposed that this attempt arose from the petty human vanity of the parvenu. Among all his motives, this had less weight than any. A remarkable change had taken place within him. He had learnt much from recent experience ; he had learnt that it was impossible to govern this country in peace with a purely democratic representation and a purely military administration, if the great landowning interest, which ruled the counties socially, maintained a hostile or passive attitude. He therefore wished to come to terms with these sulky foes, and the contemporary sources of information assure us that had he succeeded in this, the restoration of the Stuarts would have been impossible. The new monarchy would have been reconciled with the ancient conditions of law and power.

Cromwell had never been in a more delicate position. On the one hand, he saw before him the highest aim of political ambition ; on the other, a step which might rob him of the fruits of the labours of his life.

The obscurity of his first utterances on the subject of this proposal are perfectly intelligible. It is plain that he wishes to gain time, to take counsel with himself ; and what he said in confidence, proved the real indecision of his state of mind. When the mover came and told him that the matter looked well, Cromwell laughed, and said, "Thou foolish fellow !"

He cared but little for Parliament, but a great deal for the army, and there was no doubt whatever as to the opinion of that. When he sounded his generals, he heard but one voice. His old comrades would not hear of a king. "A king," they said, "is a tyrant ; we will not have one."

The aversion of the army, therefore, upon whose shoulders he had risen, was indubitable. He did not

to wait it; it might be contrary to his own wishes, but he knew what the decision must be. Many a great man in a similar position has not been able to withstand the temptation of sacrificing the firm foundation of his power to a more brilliant position. Cromwell was great enough to withstand it, to resolve not to break with those who had raised him up. He knew how little the transitory friendship of the Royalists would avail him,* whom the first breeze would probably blow from his side; and rightly estimated that the defection of his Saints would be of far greater importance. He therefore declined the crown, and said in his answer that he would be content to remain the first constable of the nation. On the other hand, he prevailed upon Parliament to permit the establishment of an Upper House, and only accepted as his prerogative the favour of naming his successor.

Thus a monarchy was averted, but an important step towards it was taken by the creation of a House of Lords in order to reconcile the Conservatives to the revolution.

It was difficult to fill the House in a satisfactory manner; the great families kept aloof, and in their place relations and complaisant partisans had to be chosen from among the lawyers and officers; and many of the latter had been draymen, tailors, or other artisans. Worse than this was the conflict which broke out between the two Houses immediately after they assembled, on the 20th of January, 1658, by which the very foundations of the Cromwellian constitution were again endangered. The Commons vehemently declared that there was no House of Lords, it had been legally abolished, and every one of them had taken the oath to the "Commonwealth without King or House of Lords." In vain Cromwell endeavoured to mediate; the

* For their opinion see the report of Giavarina.—Ranke, iii. 538.

discord could not be healed, and on the 4th of February, 1658, he was compelled to dissolve this Parliament also. He did it with the words, "And let God judge between you and me."

More successful than this attempt to close the revolution by the construction of a peaceful constitution, was the Protector's foreign policy.

The defensive alliance with France had, in March, 1657, assumed an offensive character. Mardyke and Dunkirk were conquered by the English, Jamaica maintained against the Spaniards. The star of the English arms, the European position of the Protector were in their zenith, when, on September 3rd, an eventful day for his destiny, he died.

His death softened many a bitter feeling, people now knew what they had lost. England had never been more powerful than under him, she had become the first empire in Europe; even Louis XIV. and Mazarin bowed down before him; all the great powers of the Continent felt his influence, which was not only the result of English commerce, but of the great modern ideas of liberty of conscience and the Reformation.

Apart from Oliver's past history, no man ever occupied a throne more worthily than he did; and never did a revolutionary usurper so spare the germs of civil liberty. This was the salvation of England: she would have bled to death under the Stuarts, if the traces of his labours could have been so speedily lost; and it was his memory which finally ruined them.

Calmly and with undisputed right, like a legitimate successor to a throne, Cromwell's son, Richard, assumed the office of Protector; but his government was weak and incompetent in every respect. Having early lost his energy through a dissolute youth, he preferred the pleasures of life

to the difficult calling of a ruler. As things would not go on as he wished of themselves, in May, 1659, he resigned. The generals who governed the districts of the country divided the inheritance ; and a state of things ensued, in which the oppression of usurpation was felt tenfold, and which yet did not bring with it the greatness and security for the sake of which so much had been forgiven to Cromwell. This anarchical despotism of the generals, the conflicts between the republican and royalist parties, was the best preparation for a state of mind to which the restoration of the Stuarts seemed like redemption. Amidst the acclamations of the people, and the gloomy silence of the Independents, Charles II. was recalled, the defunct Rump Parliament brought to life again ; and the same Parliament which had once decreed the fall of the Stuarts now sealed their restoration.

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INDEX TO VOL. II.

Arrest of the Five Members, 391.

Baner, 236-239, 253.

Barebone Parliament, 436.

Bärwald, Treaty of, 160.

Battle of Breitenfeld, 164, 165.

— of Copraby Bridge, 404.

— of Dunbar, 430.

— of Edge Hill, 398.

— of Lützen, 177.

— of Marston Moor, 404.

— of Naseby, 411.

— of Newbury, 399.

— of Nördlingen, 224, 225.

— of Prague, 104.

— of Worcester, 431.

Bernhard of Weimar, 206-209,
232-235, 239-249.

Beza, 20.

Blake, Robert, 431, 433.

Bohemia, Persecution in, 106, 107.

—, War in, 343, 344.

Bond of Pilsen, 217, 218.

Buckingham, Duke of, 350, 356,
357, 361.

Calais, Loss of, 296.

Cardinal Klesel, 96, 97.

— Pole, 291.

— Richelieu, 159-160, 188-
193.

—, his policy,
194-200.

Catherine de Medici, 3, 4, 6, 15,
16, 19, 40.

Charles IX., 15-17, 26-32.

—, Death of, 40.

Charles IX. of Sweden, 139, 140.

Charles I., 352-422.

—, Breach with Parlia-
ment, 383.

— in Scotland, 384.

— sold to the Scotch, 413.

—, Escape to the Isle of
Wight, 417.

—, Trial of, 421.

—, Execution of, 422.

—, Results of his Death,
424.

— and Louis XVI., Paral-
lel between, 423.

Christian IV. of Denmark, 112-
114.

Church of England, 301, 302.

—, The French, 7.

Civil War, The, 395-422.

Coligny, 29-33.

Collège des Trois Langues, 7.

Commonwealth, The, 423-452.

Congress of Münster and Osnä-
brück, 263, 264.

—, Territorial
Questions at, 267, 270.

—, Religious
Questions at 271-275.

—, Political
Regulations at, 275-279.

Conspiracy of Amboise, 12, 13.

Constitution of 1653, 439.

Covenant, The, 373.

Cranmer, 284.

—, Death of, 295.

Cromwell, 404-451.

—, Overtures of Charles
I. to, 416.

Cromwell, his "Saints," 410,
413, 414, 425, 427, 435.
———, Letter to Hammond,
420.
——— and Louis XIV., 432.
——— as Protector, 437, 451.
———, Speeches of, 440,
446.
———, Proposal to make
King, 448, 450.
———, his Foreign Policy,
451.
———, Religious Liberty
under, 446.
———, Death of, 451.
———, Richard, 451, 452.

David Rizzio, 313, 314.
Davison, Secretary, 329.
Diet of Ratisbon, 257.
Donauwörth, 88, 89.
Duke of Anjou, 44.
——— Maximilian of Bavaria, 88,
89.
——— of Northumberland, 283.
——— of Norfolk's Conspiracy,
321, 322.

Earl of Bothwell, 315-317.
Edict of Amboise, 24.
——— Longjumeaux, 25.
——— Nantes, 66, 67.
——— Restitution, 123-127.
——— St. Germain, 20, 21.
Edward VI., 283-286.
Emperor Matthias, 92.
Eric XIV. of Sweden, 132-134.

Fairfax, 399, 403, 410, 412.
Ferdinand II., 94-99, 261.
Francis II., 9, 14.
Frederic V. of the Palatinate,
100-103, 343, 344.
French Protestantism, 10, 11.

General Assembly, The, 374.
General Wrangel, 257.
German Empire, Decay of the,
276-278.
Great Remonstrance, The, 388-
390.
Guise, Mary of, 5.

Guises, The, 4, 5.
Gunpowder Plot, 339.
Gustavus Adolphus, 141-180.
——— in Germany,
149-153.
———, Projects of,
169-172.
———, Death of,
178-180.

Henry II. of France, 2.
Henry III. of France, 40-43, 47,
48.
———, Murder of, 49.
Henry IV. of France, 50-67.
———, his Conversion to Ca-
tholicism, 62-64.
———, Assassination of, 75.
Henry VIII., Confusion left by,
282.
———, his Marriages, 282.
High Commission, The, 367.
Holland, War with, 432, 433.
Huguenots, The, 18.
Humanism in France, 7.

Independents, The, 401-403.

James I., 335-351.
———, his Character, 337.
———, Death of, 351.
Jeanne D'Albret, 11, 18.
John Hampden, 369, 370.
John Knox, 306-308.
John III. of Sweden, 134, 138.
John of Werth, 237, 238.

Killing no Murder, 444.

Lady Jane Grey, 286, 287.
La Rochelle, 358.
Laud, Archbishop, 364, 365, 367.
Leipzig, Convention of, 161, 162.
Long Parliament, 377-380.
———, Dismissal of
the, 436.
Lord Bacon, Trial of, 343.
Louis XIII., 187-189.
Louis XIV., 266.

Magdeburg, Siege of, 163.
Mansfeld, General, 119, 120.

- Marshal D'Ancre, 187.
 Mary of Medici, 183.
 Mary Stuart, 6, 303, 304.
 — in Scotland, 310-317.
 —, her Marriage with Darnley, 313.
 —, Imprisonment in England, 318, 319.
 —, Trial of, 328.
 —, Execution of, 329.
 Massacre of St. Bartholomew, 29, 33-40, 323.
 — in the Valteline, 201.
 — of Vassy, 22.
 — of Protestants in Ireland, 385, 386.
 Maximilian II., 84.
 Monopolies, 342.
 Mutiny of the Army against Parliament, 415.

 Navigation Act, 433.

 Oxenstierna, 180, 205, 208, 209.

 Parliamentary Army, The, 393.
 Peace of Augsburg, 77-80.
 — Prague, 229-231.
 — St. Germain en Laye, 25.
 — Westphalia, 262-279.
 Petition of Right, 360, 361.
 Plot of Savage and Babington, 327.
 Pope Paul IV., 296.
 Presbyterians, 401.
 Pride's Purge, 419.
 Protectorate, The, 283.
 Protest of Parliament, 1621, 347.
 Protestantism in Austria, 83.
 Pym, 376, 377.

 Queen Elizabeth, 298-334.
 —, Estimate of, 299.
 —, her Attitude towards Catholicism, 300, 301.
 —, her Treatment of Mary Stuart, 319.
 —, Plots against, 324-326.
 —, her Speech at Tilbury, 332.

 Queen Elizabeth, Death of, 334.
 Queen Mary, 287-297.
 —, Estimate of, 287.
 —, Catholic Reaction under, 289-292.
 —, Marriage with Philip II., 293.
 —, Death of, 296.

 Reformation in England, completion of, 280.
 — under Edward VI., 284-286.
 — in Scotland, 305, 306.
 Religious Wars in France, 1-75.
 Republic, End of the, 452.
 Riots at Edinburgh, 372.
 Royal Charter of Bohemia, 86, 87.
 Rudolph II., 85-87, 91.
 Rudyard, Speeches of, 354, 359.

 Seymour, Duke of Somerset, 283.
 Ship Money, 368.
 Sorbonne, The, 8, 9.
 Spanish Armada, 330-333.
 Spanish Marriage Scheme, 349, 350.
 Star Chamber, The, 365, 366.
 Stemmata, 45, 46.
 Stettin, Occupation of, 157.
 Strafford, Earl of, 362, 364.
 —, Trial and Execution of, 380-382.
 Stuarts, The, 310.
 Subjugation of Ireland and Scotland, 428-429.
 Sully, 68-74.

 Thirty Years' War, First Phase of, 93-130.
 —, Second Phase of, 131-180.
 —, Third Phase of, 181-250.
 —, End of, 252-261.
 —, Barbarities during, 276.
 —, Devastation caused by, 277.
 Tonnage and Poundage, 355, 356, 361.

Torstenson, 253-255.

Ultimatum of Parliament, 397.

Valois, House of, 2, 3.

Wallenstein, 115-123, 210-213.

Wallenstein, Dismissal of, 129.

_____, Recall of, 174, 175.

_____, Assassination of,

219, 220.

War of the three Henrys, 45.

Winter Kingdom, The, 100-103.

Znaym, Treaty of, 175, 176.

THE END.



